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AUTHOR Day, Jo Ann Miller
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ABSTRACT

Responses to the 1976 Gallup education poll were analyzed to test the hypothesis that educational beliefs held by lay citizens are systematically structured and may be ordered along several dimensions representing functions of education: utilitarian concerns, socialization concerns, and concerns with academic and individual needs. Further, the study explores the relationship between specific educational beliefs and the respondents' residential location (rural, suburban, or urban) and two of their social status characteristics--educational attainment and rating of the public schools. The data comprise the answers of 1,549 persons to 24 questions on the functions and goals of public education. The research uses principal-factoring analysis with iteration, and five components are retained for orthogonal rotation. The results confirm that educational belief systems are multidimensional and associated with the functions of education. While belief patterns regarding the utilitarian and individual needs functions vary with the education, type of community, and satisfaction with public schools of respondents, the socialization and academic achievement functions are concerns of citizens regardless of social status characteristics and residential location. This degree of consensus among socioeconomic groups might provide a common denominator for adapting the school system to citizens' goals. Appendixes show communalities and factor loadings. (MJL)

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THE ORGANIZATION OF CITIZEN'S EDUCATIONAL BELIEFS

Jo Ann Miller Day, Ph.D.
Department of Education
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1982

From numerous polls, surveys, and personal experience of school administrators, it is clear that lay citizens hold a variety of beliefs about education. It is not clear, however, to what extent these beliefs are organized along the lines of several more embracing ideologies or movements in education. This research explores three major questions. First, are the educational beliefs held by citizens structured in some systematic way and, if so, are these beliefs ordered along one or more dimensions? Second, are certain social status characteristics related to certain educational beliefs? Third, is residential location (urban, rural, suburban) of the respondent related to specific educational beliefs?

The data show citizens tend to structure their beliefs about the functions of education into four dimensions. The dimensions are identified as socialization of youngsters, fulfilling individual needs, providing utilitarian educational skills, and producing academic achievement. Socialization of youngsters and academic achievement are found among the better educated as well as the less well educated, in every type of community--rural, urban or suburban--and whether citizens are satisfied or less than satisfied with the public schools. Citizens' belief patterns regarding utilitarian educational skills (curriculum issues) and individual needs of youngsters vary by educational attainment level, degree of satisfaction with the schools and type of community.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF CITIZEN'S EDUCATIONAL BELIEFS

The Nature of Educational Belief Systems

Gallup polls on education have been conducted every year since 1969 in an effort to inform educators and educational policy makers about the public's attitude toward educational issues. Numerous, seemingly unrelated questions are often asked in an attempt to obtain valuable descriptive information about the public mood.

> What are the most important ways in which the overall quality of public school education could be improved?
>
> Do you think that the school curriculum should give more emphasis, or less emphasis, to careers and career preparation in high school?
>
> Parents now have responsibility for the moral behavior of their children. Do you think that the schools should take on a share of this responsibility, or not?
>
> Do you believe that a decline in national test scores of students in recent years means that the quality of education today is declining?

However, a more theoretical second-order question is seldom asked. Are responses to these apparently unrelated questions also unrelated, or do they exhibit some structure? To put it slightly differently, if we know a person's belief about one issue can we infer beliefs about other issues? And if we can infer beliefs, how is this helpful to policy makers?

Organized Belief Systems in Education

The questions in the polls cover such diverse topics as discipline, academic achievement, vocational education, individual needs, testing and finances. Researchers frequently describe the findings from these surveys as liberal or conservative and consider them suggestive of trends.

This one-dimensional interpretation is not uncommon in educational literature. Educational beliefs are often described as liberal or conservative, humanistic or authoritarian, idealistic or realistic, new liberalism or classical liberalism, and progressive or traditional[1] (Dewey, 1915; Green, 1971; Inglis, 1975; Karier, 1975; Katz, 1971; Spring, 1976). These descriptions may refer to social or fiscal policy in relationship to educational theory and its use with various groups of people, but there is no accepted definitional scheme to differentiate one set of categories from another.

Single or Multidimensional Belief Systems

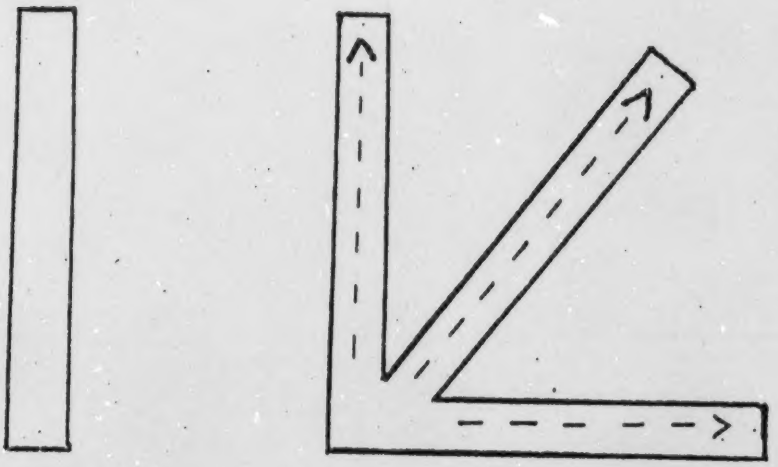
In political science where liberal or conservative labels have an historical significance, we have seen similar interpretations. However, while some have assumed beliefs are organized and interpretable on a liberal-conservative dimension, others have argued ideological consistency or structure in beliefs[2] is found only in the elite rather than with the masses (Converse, 1964). The argument is that only leaders make the connections and see relationships that elude citizens with less information, interest, or time to spend.

Other political scientists directly challenge the argument that elites possess a political ideology or belief system not apparent in the general public (Jackman, 1974; Luttbeg, 1974). Luttbeg compares leaders and citizens beliefs and finds several dimensions represented in both groups. In other words, as depicted in Figure 1, there are a variety of belief systems rather than the traditional liberal-conservative dimension.

SINGLE DIMENSIONAL VIEW OF EDUCATION BELIEFS

MULTIPLE DIMENSIONAL VIEW OF EDUCATIONAL BELIEF DOMAINS

LIBERAL



CONSERVATIVE

Figure 1. Dimensionality of beliefs.

Luttbeg (1974) concludes that ideologies are multidimensional rather than unidimensional for both leaders and citizens. And "the public's belief structure does not differ generically from that of the leaders" (p. 342). Both demonstrate a meaningful constraint among beliefs even though the beliefs are not exactly the same.

Thus, the primary question is, are the beliefs about education held by the mass public structured, and if so, does the same basic liberal-conservative continuum referred to by Gallup provide that structure (Elam, 1978)? Are all of these questions related to each other on that continuum or are they organized in a different conceptual manner? For while the liberal-conservative dimension may be a more parsimonious description understood and used in academic circles, it may not be the best way of analyzing beliefs held by the general public about public schooling.

Given a sample of individuals responding to the questions, we may ask whether a person favoring more emphasis on basic skills also tends to believe that more discipline in schools is the best way to improve the quality of education. And, if so, would that same person be likely to favor a national test to determine who whould graduate from high school? If we know a person favors a back-to-the-basics approach in schools does that tell us anything else about his educational beliefs?[3] With data generated by such questions, we can examine the following hypothesis: 1) Educational beliefs held by citizens are systematically related one to another, and 2) then may be ordered along several dimensions.

Beliefs are value laden and evoke interest, emotion and connection to one's place in the social system (Lane, 1962; Huber and Form 1973). Sociological studies suggest that differing beliefs and attitues are associated with the socioeconomic status of the respondent (Coleman, 1957; Jackson, 1981; Lightfoot, 1981, Lynd and Lynd, 1929, 1937; Vidich and Bensman, 1960; Hollingshead, 1949). Analyses of the educational system and the consequences for differing social groups in the stratification system have also been conducted (Coleman, 1966; Conant, 1961; Sexton, 1961; Berg, 1970; Hauser, 1969; Duncan et al; 1968). These consequences for children are often discussed by the mass media where basic skills are linked to job opportunities and income is linked to number of years of schooling. Headstart, Selfstart, Followthrough, Upward Bound and a variety of compensatory educational programs are the result. Thus, people may very well have interests and ideas about what actions will help their children and want to match their understanding of consequences with their perceived interests.

Assuming the public has structured beliefs, then we would expect these beliefs to be associated with particular social status characteristics of the respondents, such as their level of education. The second hypothesis is: social status characteristics are related to educational beliefs.

Residential location (urban, rural, suburban) of the respondent has also been discussed as influencing beliefs about education (Peshkin, 1978; Barker, 1964; Vidich and Bensman, 1960). So we may examine the third hypothesis: the type of community the respondent resides in is related to educational beliefs.

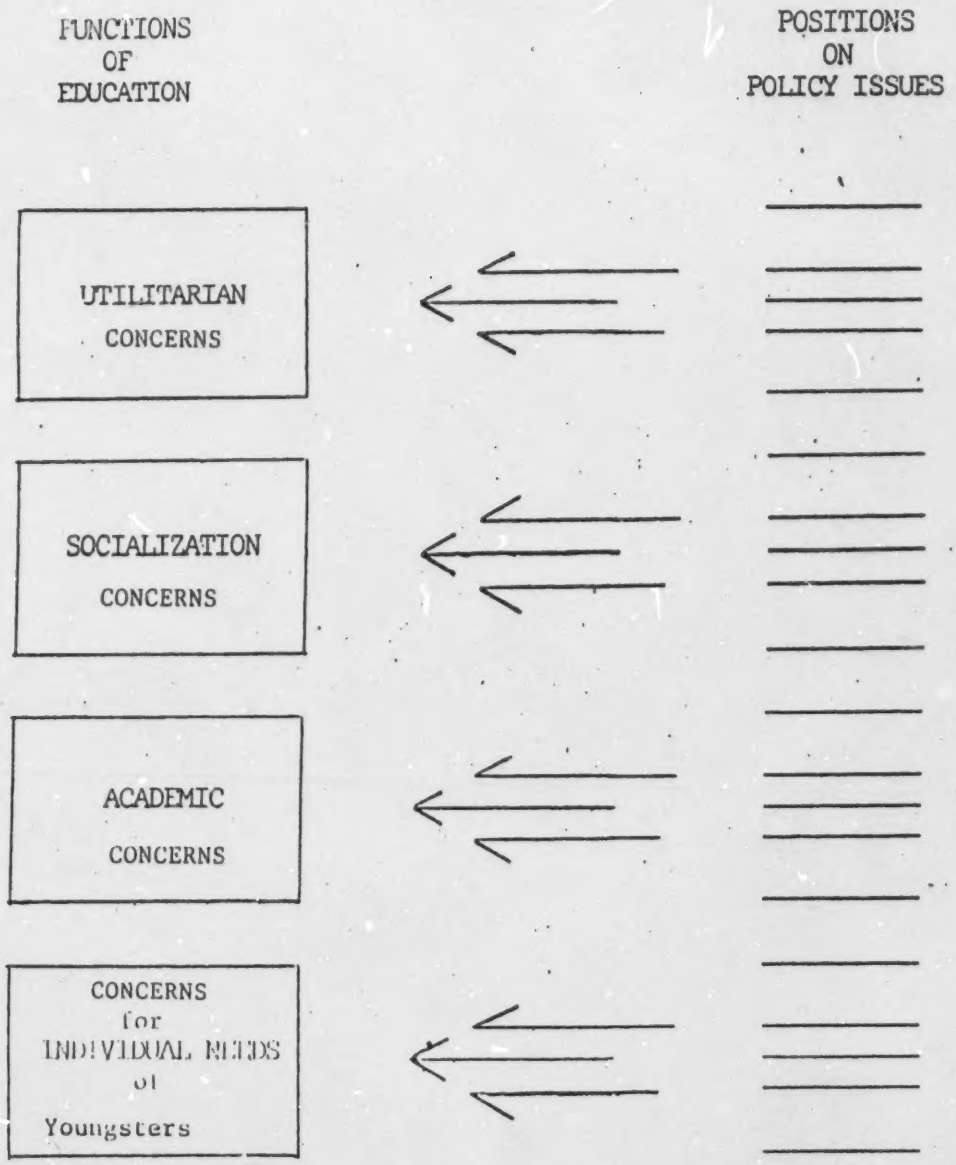


Figure 2. Underlying belief dimensions.

Figure 2 shows the hypothesized dimensions of educational beliefs. They are represented in the left column by the boxes labelled utilitarian, socialization, academic and individual needs. These dimensions are functions of education.[4]

The column at the right consists of the individual belief items representing responses to questions in the Gallup Poll. The model specifies that some of these many items will cluster around one of the four underlying beliefs. While we have worked backward in this subjective testing for structured educational beliefs, the theory is that these underlying beliefs of individuals are what influence their responses to questions on educational policy matters.

Figure 3, a diagram of the general model, shows education, residential location, and rating of the public school as independent variables. The arrows leading from the variables on the left to the functions of education correspond to the hypotheses about how educational attainment, residential location, or rating of the public school relate to beliefs. The underlying beliefs in turn influence the responses given by individuals to specific questions of educational policy, the column on the right.

Background of the Gallup Poll

Data which would allow these questions to be analyzed must contain multiple questions and answers regarding how schools should be conducted. The Gallup education polls conducted from 1969 to 1978 include multiple questions and responses on how schools could be improved, what the most important problems in the schools are, and whether people favor particular proposed remedies for current problems. The poll conducted by the Gallup organization in 1976 contained the largest number of questions addressing these issues.

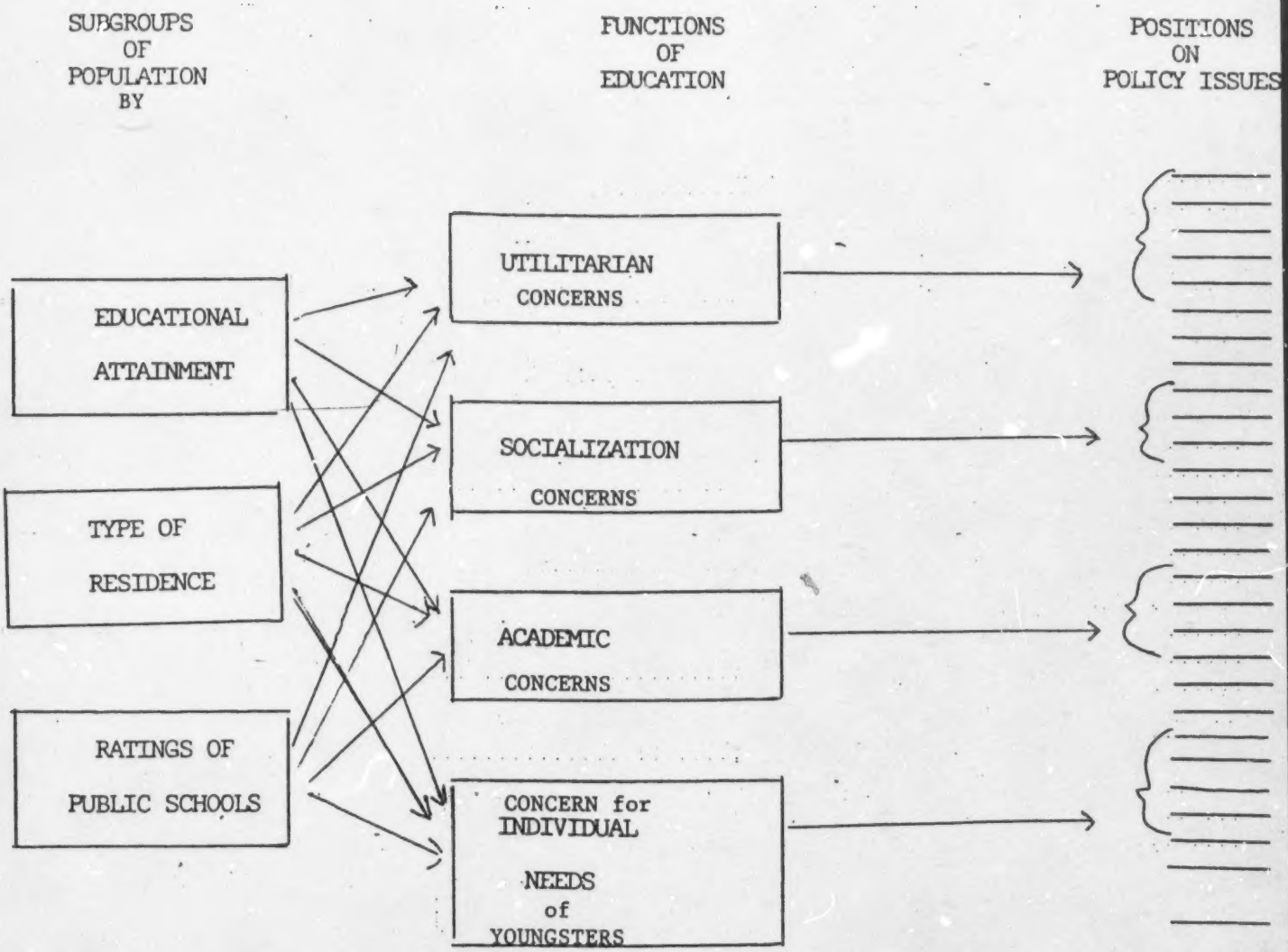


Figure 3. Underlying belief dimensions for subgroups.

A national panel of educators and decision makers in position of educational policy responsibilities has been utilized each year to develop the questions for the Gallup Poll.[5] These leaders have provided input on the areas of interest and concern relevant at that particular time both to the general public and to a variety of people who are engaged in making educational policy.

The particular survey (1976) used in this research dealt with questions concerning functional illiteracy and college entrance; the drop in national test scores; and the social, political, and economic aspects of education that usually concern public school administrators and teachers. With the seemingly never resolved question of where public school responsibility ends and other community institutions' responsibility begins, questions regarding the juvenile court system, child care centers, and boarding schools were also included in the poll.

Selection of the Questions for Analysis

Many questions in the poll address the functions of the educational institution and the goals the public educational system is to pursue.[6] Questions which do not address these goals of public education, that is, questions that deal with individual teacher's and children's qualities, the legal system, the family, and the economics of education, are excluded from the analysis.[7] Table 1 lists the multiple questions used in this research.

As can be seen in Table 1, responses for six of the questions consist of agree, disagree statements and were coded as dichotomized variables (questions 21, 22, 23b, 27, 33, 36a). Three questions provided multiple responses (questions 17, 19, 36b). There responses were treated as individual questions and also coded as dichotomized variables.

Table 1

Possible Response on Policy Issues

Question number on questionnaire given to respondents:

Variables in Factor Analysis	Excluded Variables
17. What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public school in this community must deal?	
1. lack of discipline	2. integration-segregation*
3. lack of proper financial support	4. difficulty getting "good teachers"
6. poor curriculum	5. lack of proper facilities
	7. parents' lack of interest
	8. transportation
	9. school board policies
	10. pupils' lack of interest
	11. too large schools and classes
	12. use of dope, drugs
	13. communications problems
	14. parents' involvement too great
	15. busing*
	16. crime/vandalim
	17. drinking/alcoholism
	18. there are no problems
19. Which of these ways do you think would do most to improve the quality of public school education overall?	
2. enforce stricter discipline	1. build new buildings
3. raise teachers' salaries	4. increase amount of homework
5. improve parent-school relations	8. lower age for compulsory attendance
6. raise academic standards	
7. devote more attention to teaching of basic skills	
9. meet individual needs of students	
10. provide opportunities for teachers to keep up to date regarding new methods/ subjects	
11. emphasize career education and development of salable skills	
12. emphasize moral development	
21. All high school students in the United States should be required to pass a standard examination in order to get a high school diploma.	
yes	
no	
dk	

Table 1 (continued)

Variables in Factor Analysis	Excluded Variables

22. Those youngsters who can pass a test showing that they can read, write, and figure with sufficient skill to get along should be allowed to leave school as early as 14 to take a job or go on to community college education.

approved
disapproved
dk

23b. Would you be willing to pay additional taxes to be spent to offer courses at convenient times to parents in order to help them help their children in school?

yes
no
dk

27. Parents now have the responsibility for the moral behavior of their children but the schools should take on a share of this responsibility.

yes
no
dk

33. The school curriculum should give more emphasis to careers and career preparation in high school.

more emphasis
less emphasis
about the same as now

36a. Do you believe that a decline in national test scores of students in recent years means that the quality of education today is declining?

yes
no
dk

36b. Will you look over these reasons and then tell me which ones you think are most responsible for this decline in test scores.

1. too much television viewing
2. teachers are giving less attention to students
3. society is becoming too permissive
4. it's easier to get into college
6. students aren't as motivated to do well
7. less parent attention, concern and supervision of the child
5. schools are expanding the number of courses offered
8. these tests are not reliable
9. other reasons (describe)
10. none

While ideal data would have a series of interval-level response items that yield more variance and are subject to less measurement error, research is often limited by available data. In this case data may be used to measure educational belief since the survey did not limit the respondents to only one answer when multiple responses were possible. For instance, when respondents were asked how they would improve the schools or what the biggest problems were with schools, they were encouraged to select as many items as they felt were important.[9] They were not constrained to name just one item as representing quality or a problem. Any response not selected may have been just less important. Since rank ordering is not available, however, lack of a response is assumed to be a negative response. In effect, the method of coding these responses dichotomizes an interval-level concept.

The responses used in the analysis are found in the left-hand column under the questions listed in Table 1. Those in the right-handed column are not analyzed due to distribution problems that could create measurement error. When the percentage of responses had a distribution of less than 15 percent and greater than 85 percent on any question, the question with this result was not kept in the analysis (Knoke, 1975).[10] The correlation matrix between the variables retained for analysis is used for input to the factor analysis on educational beliefs.

Factor Analysis in the Search for Structured Beliefs

Potentially each question in any poll could form its own dimension. An appropriate test of dimensionality is factor analysis. Factor

analysis is based on the premise that phenomena are structured in a simpler manner than they often seem. The principles that distinguish one category from another are inferred. In the present study factor analysis is used to examine the dimensions along which lie multiple responses to questions regarding how the quality of the public schools can be improved and how schools should be conducted.

This research uses principal-factoring analysis with iteration. Five components are retained for orthogonal rotation.[11] It assumes the observed correlations are mainly the results of some underlying regularity in the data. The factors are expected to represent functions of education referred to in the literature as utilitarian concerns, academic concerns, socialization concerns, and concerns with individual needs.

The Sample Size for the Current Rearch

The Gallup Poll sample of 1,549 is reduced to 1,276 cases in the first factor analysis since questions 21, 22, 23, 27, and 36a, that is, 5 of 24 que[illegible] used in the analysis, included an opportunity for respondents to state "do not know." All respondents who answered do not know on any questions are removed from all questions in the analysis.

An important issue for this research is that analysis should be carried out within homogeneous samples of the variables. The variables previously discussed that may influence the factor structure are the rating of the schools, educational attainment, and residential location of the respondents. Separate analyses are run to examine the structure of beliefs when controlling for these subgroups of the population.

The Dimensionality of Educational Beliefs of Citizens

The patterns of belief held by the public on the issues measured show some constraint[12] and reflect multiple dimensions (communalities and factor loadings may be found in Appendix A). The data consist of 24 possible responses to questions and of these, 17 responses load at .3 or above on five factors with none of the responses loading (above .3)[13] on more than one factor.[14]

The content of the structured beliefs reflects the functions schools are to perform socializing children, meeting their individual needs, preparing them for a world of work and preparing children scholastically. The fifth factor is a financial factor that appears separately. The following discussion is presented in conjuction with Figure 4.

Socialization of Youngsters

Maintaining the stability of society by teaching children to conform to some generally acceptable behavior is one of the functions of the schools that has been discussed since the nineteenth century (Conant, 1961; Karier, 1975; Katz, 1971; Lee, 1961; Tyack, 1974). The social role of the school is to bind children to society through respect for society's rules and regulations, respect for persons in authority, and the development of morals and good work habits.

All variables associated with the socialization of children such as moral development (.45), discipline as one of the biggest problems in schools (.38), the need for discipline to be more strictly enforced (.52), parents not paying enough attention to or supervising their children well enough (.33), and society in general being too permissive (.43), all load on the first factor which the investigator has identified as socialization.[15]

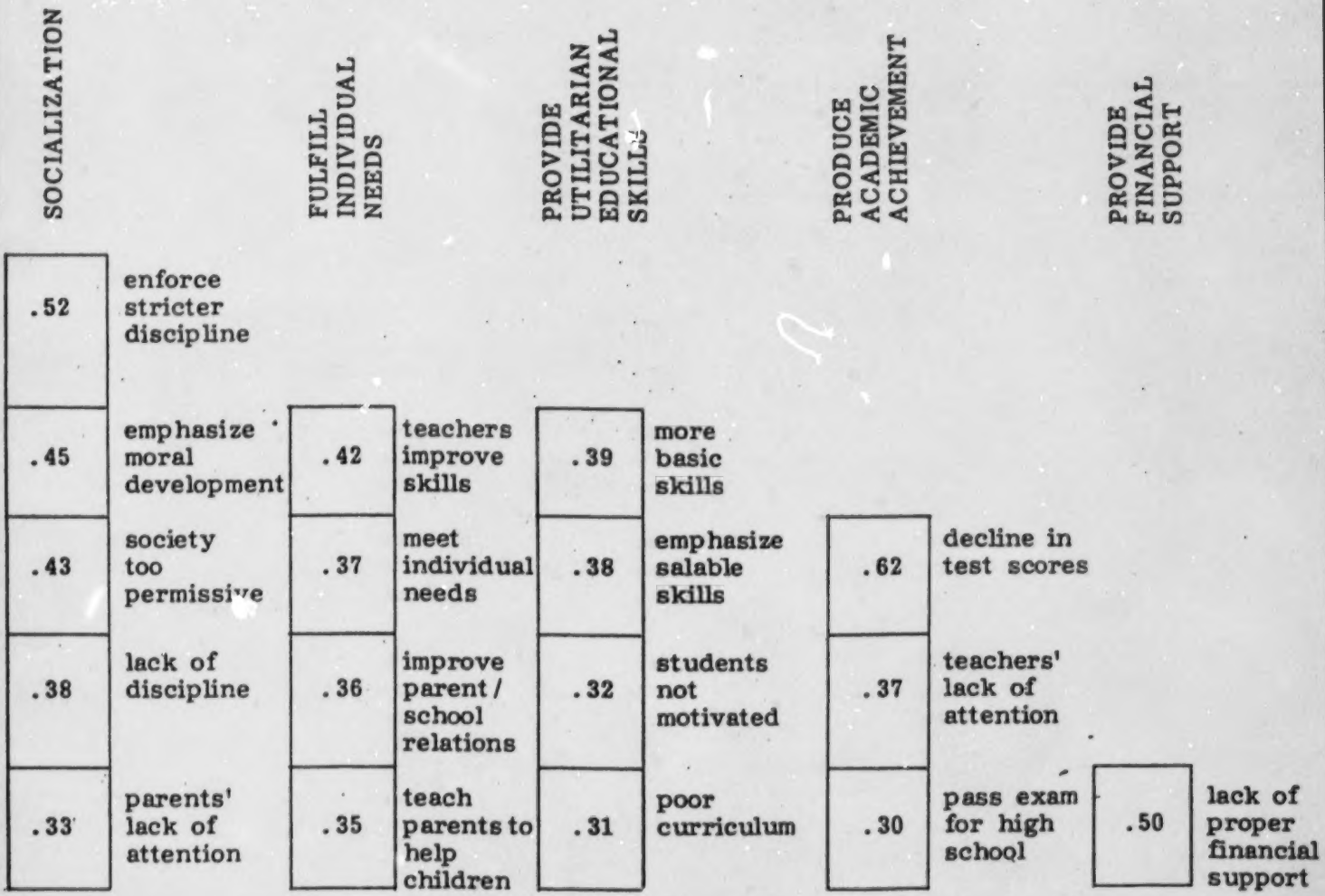

SOCIALIZATION
FULFILL INDIVIDUAL NEEDS
PROVIDE UTILITARIAN EDUCATIONAL SKILLS
PRODUCE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT
PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT
.52 enforce stricter discipline
.45 emphasize moral development
.42 teachers improve skills
.39 more basic skills
.43 society too permissive
.37 meet individual needs
.38 emphasize salable skills
.62 decline in test scores
.38 lack of discipline
.36 improve parent / school relations
.32 students not motivated
.37 teachers' lack of attention
.33 parents' lack of attention
.35 teach parents to help children
.31 poor curriculum
.30 pass exam for high school
.50 lack of proper financial support

Figure 4. Factor structure.

Fulfill Individual Needs

While society must make demands on youngsters that will assimilate them into the adult world, it is also recognized that youngsters have particular individual needs. It has been argued that the emotional, psychological, and intellectual growth of each child is unique and should be considered when teaching the child. Often parents, teachers and communities are expected to unite and cooperate in their effors to help the individual child (Conant, 1961; Dewey, 1915; Sexton, 1961). Individualized attention should be given by teachers who have been trained in the latest methods to be helpful on an individual basis. The rationale is often stated in terms such as "children should be able to learn at their own pace," "the social context of the child is important," "rigid grade levels should not be maintained" (Elam, 1978, p. 252), and "we need some way of working with kids individually--to let them have a chance to learn how to learn. . . " (Smith, M., 1978, p. 16).

Belief in emphasizing individual needs of children (.37), improving parent-school relations (.36), providing opportunity for teachers to upgrade skills to help childrens (.42), and helping parents learn how to help their children even to the extent of paying higher taxes (.35), forms a factor interpreted as fulfilling individual needs.[16]

Provide Utilitarian Educational Skills

The public has utilitarian concerns and believes that the public schools should address these concerns by preparing every student to take some kind of job after high school or to prepare for college

(Elam, 1978, p. 268). If this were thought of as a continuum, one end of the continuum would be the immediate concern for jobs after high school with the goal of a career after completion of college or graduate school, the other end of the continuum. In another survey (Stake & Easley, 1978), this goal was referred to as the career purpose of education and was selected as the most important purpose of the school by most parents and students (Dawson, 1978, p. 110). Dawson (1978) describes it this way:

> The main responsibility of the schools should be to prepare young people for their life-work. Though most careers require training on the job and continuing education through-out life, the schools should lay the foundation for successful work. For students who will take further training in technical school or professional college, the schools should emphasize entrance requirements and preparatory skills. (p. 110)

One of the problems with the Gallup questionnaire is that there are no questions that directly identify a desire for preparation for a career requiring college as opposed to a career requiring high school, both utilitarian concerns. Utilitarian educational concerns may be expressed on a continuum from basic competency type curriculum in reading, writing and arithmetic to college prep curriculum that includes advanced science, math and language courses (Jackson, 1981; Lightfoot, 1981; Stake and Easley, 1978).

While basic skills and career salable skills are specific responses that would be associated with a career after high school, poor curriculum is the only response that might be interpreted as a need for college prep courses.

The association of preparing for work and learning the basic skills has been described in another survey (Stake & Easley, 1978). From questions asked

> It was apparent that administrators and parents were concerned about youth unemployment and the hollowness of the admonition that "if you don't do your schoolwork you are not going to be able to find a good job." But there did not appear to be a strong feeling that the schools can do much about making the courses more vocational. Here again the belief was that work on the basic skills is most likely to be of value to the employment-seeking youth. (p. 21)

From the responses that load on this factor, it appears the factor represents the concern for utilitarian educational skills. This factor is shaped by the beliefs that the quality of education could be improved by devoting more attention to the basic skills[17] (.39) and emphasizing career education and salable skills (.38), that students' indifference is a cause for declining test scores (.32) and that one of the biggest problems of the public schools is poor curriculum (.31).[18]

Produce Academic Achievement

This factor, representative of academic achievement, demonstrates the belief in testing as a record of accomplishment but does not differentiate between minimum standards or academic excellence.

The academic achievement factor includes beliefs that the quality of education is declining because national test scores are declining (.62), that teachers are responsible for the decline in test scores (.39), and that standard exams should be required for high school graduation (.30).[19]

There are other interpretations of interest in academics. Some might argue interest in academics is the knowledge purpose of education. For example, Dawson (1978) states:

> The main responsibility of the schools should be to help young men and women know all about the world. Each student should have maximum opportunity to study the basic facts and concepts of nature, technology, commerce, the languages, the fine arts and practical arts. The schools should help young men and women build skills for explaining--and even discovering--new knowledge. (p. 110)

Others might say the questions on testing in the Gallup Poll really tap respondents lack of confidence in the schools. Either way, the two questions on testing and teachers' responsibility for declining test scores are a separate dimension. If one were to accept the argument that this dimension is representative of confidence in public schools, these issues would be less likely to form a dimension where respondents express some confidence in schools by a satisfaction rating of A or B on a scale of A to F. This issue will be examined when the dimensions are discussed for the satisfied respondents.

Provide Financial Support

This factor is formed by the question regarding what the schools' biggest problems are perceived to be, and the response is that proper financial assistance is a problem (.50). There was no further definition of what proper financial support would entail. In fact, neither of the specific fiscal questions--raising teachers' salaries or paying extra taxes for courses that parents could take to learn how to help their children-- appear in conjunction with this factor. The latter of these responses appears with the belief that more emphasis should be placed on the child's individual needs. The former was not a part of any factor structure.

While one would expect financial need to be associated with particular issues at particular times, as is the case with tax money for teaching parents how to help their children, it is not inconceivable that financial problems may affect many functions of education at particular times and are not peculiar or isolated to any one dimension. This appears to be the case in school consolidation (Peshkin, 1978) and would explain how school financing may be independent of any other issues. This supposition is examined later in the analysis of rural respondents.

The Structure of Beliefs Considering the Perceived Quality of the Public Schools

Respondents were asked to rate their schools A, B, C, D, F, with A to denote the greatest satisfaction with their schools. As seen in Table 2, people's satisfaction with their public schools varies widely with 42 percent rating these schools above average and 44 percent average or below. Since people's satisfaction with their schools may change the factor structure when taken into consideration, other analyses were run to see whether people's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their public schools changed the amount of constraint or factor patterns.

Table 2

Ratings Given the Public Schools

Rating	1976 (%)
A	13
B	29
C	28
D	10
FAIL	6
Don't know/ no answer	14

For purposes of analysis, the respondents are divided into two levels of satisfaction, above average (A and B ratings) and average and below average (C, D, F, ratings). The sample of 1,276 cases from the previous factor analysis is reduced to 1,117 cases and by this process divides into 558 and 559 cases, respectively.

The beliefs of the more satisfied respondents show no greater constraint than do those of the less well satisfied (communalities and

factor loadings may be found in Appendices C and D). In comparing both groups, it is found that the loadings on the factors constitute a simple structure for those who rate their schools above average but not for those who rate their schools average or below. By looking at loadings over .3, it can be seen that no issues load heavily on more than one factor for the former group. For the average and below average group, two policy issues load on more than one factor at .3. The two policy issues are providing stricter discipline and emphasizing individual needs.

As seen in Figures 5 and 6, the factor patterns are not the same for the two subgroups. For those who rate their schools above average, socialization, individualized curriculum, community relations, academic achievment and vocational education better describe the dimensions. For those who rate their schools average or less, socialization, financial support for individual needs, discipline, academic achievement and a general indictment of the schools more appropriately describe the dimensions.

In comparing both subgroups, it is clear that the socialization and academic achievement dimensions remain similar. Producing academic achievment is still an identifiable dimension even among the respondents who rate their schools well, thus suggesting this dimension is not just tapping respondents lack of confidence in the schools.

Educational Attainment

Do better-educated people structure their beliefs differently than the less well educated? Education is considered an influential variable

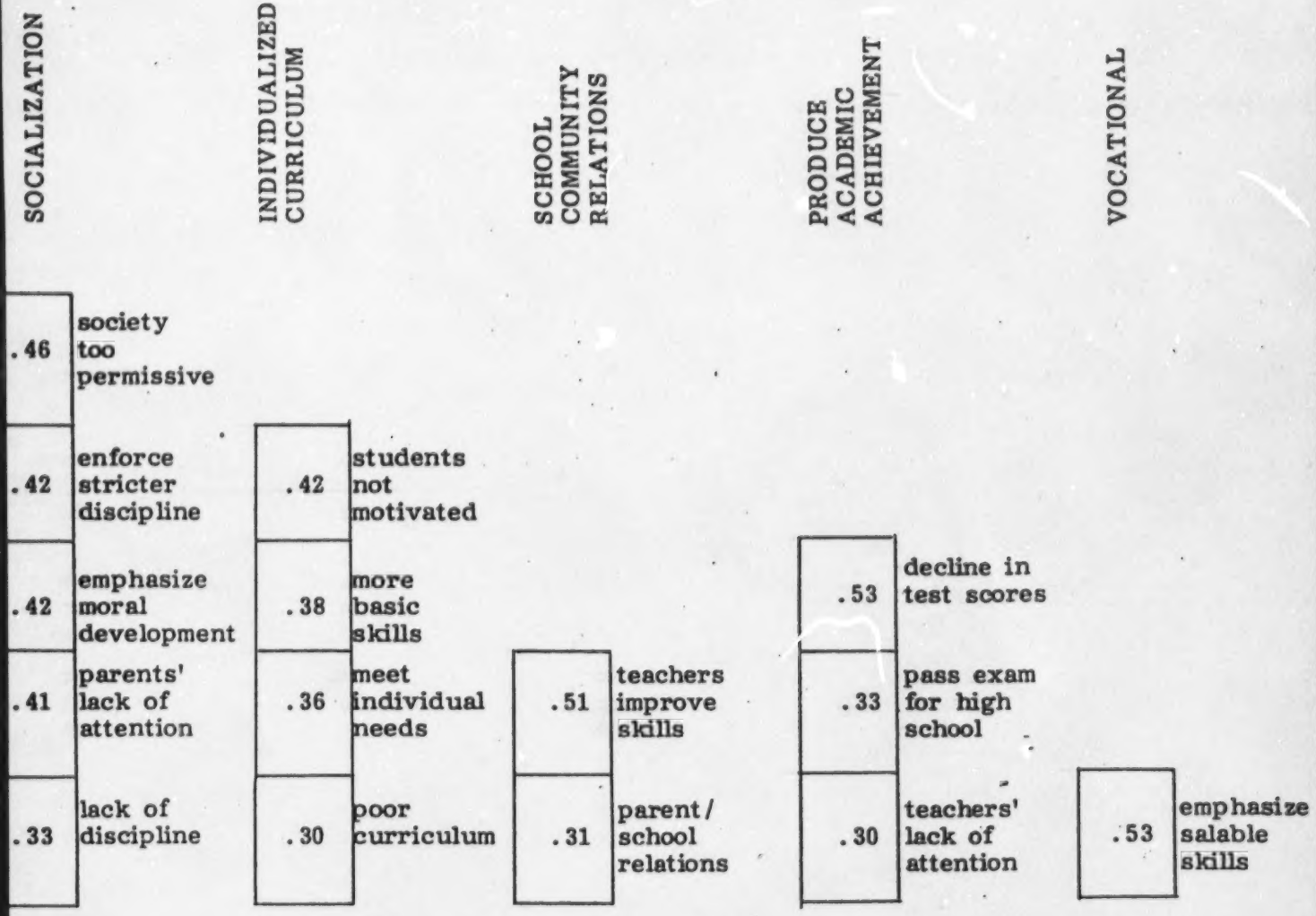
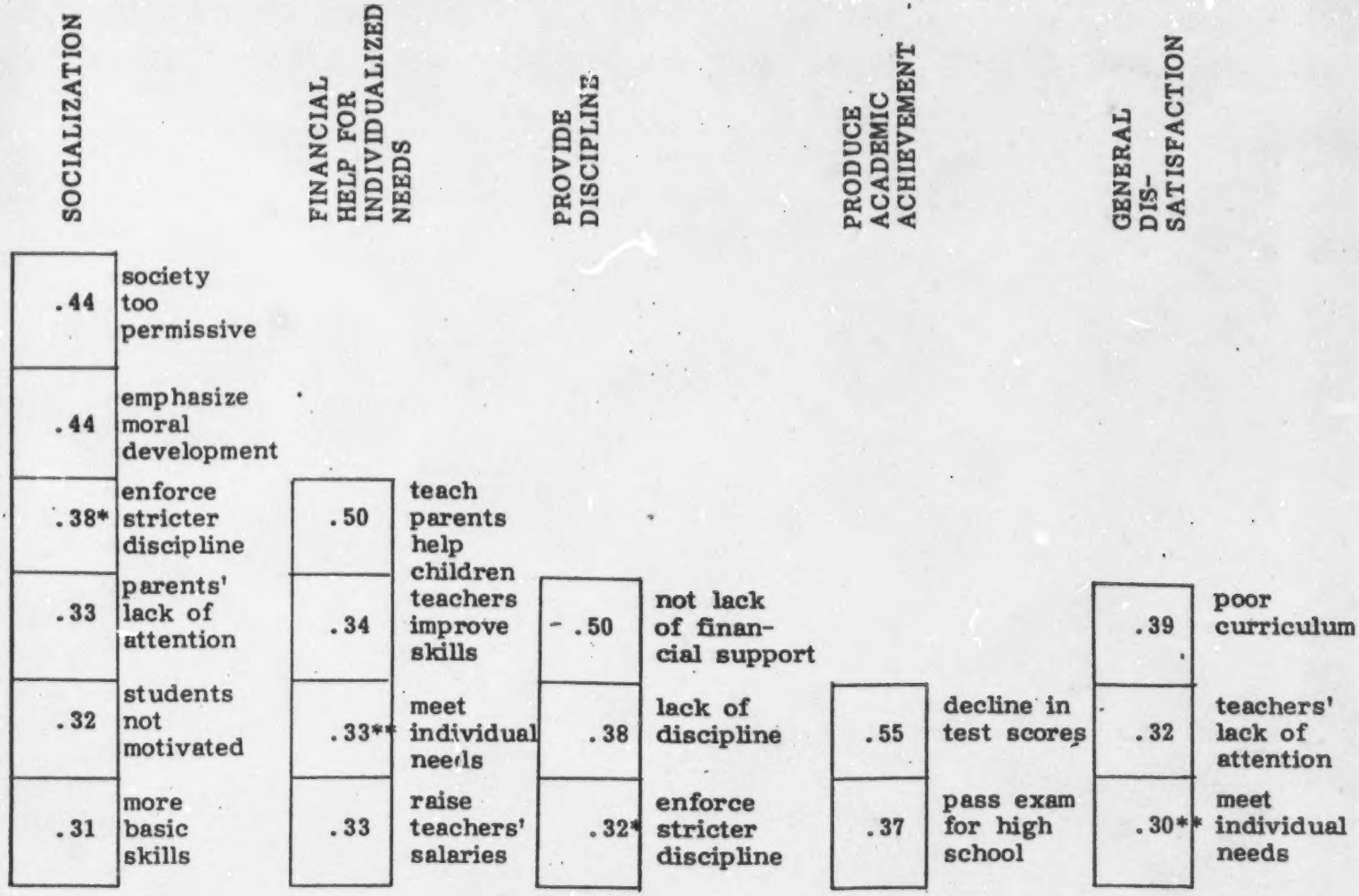


Figure 5. Above average satisfaction with schools.


SOCIALIZATION
FINANCIAL HELP FOR INDIVIDUALIZED NEEDS
PROVIDE DISCIPLINE
PRODUCE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT
GENERAL DIS-SATISFACTION
.44 society too permissive
.44 emphasize moral development
.38* enforce stricter discipline
.33 parents' lack of attention
.32 students not motivated
.31 more basic skills
.50 teach parents help children
.34 teachers improve skills
.33** meet individual needs
.33 raise teachers' salaries
- .50 not lack of financial support
.38 lack of discipline
.32* enforce stricter discipline
.55 decline in test scores
.37 pass exam for high school
.39 poor curriculum
.32 teachers' lack of attention
.30** meet individual needs

*one issue loading on more than one factor
**a second issue loading on more than one factor

Figure 6. Average and below average satisfaction with schools.

because it taps a person's values (Coleman, 1966; Elam, 1978; Hyman, 1953). It also represents the opportunity for access to and the understanding of rationales for positions taken on issues under consideration. This analysis allows us to determine whether or not there are significant differences in the constraint and the content of the belief structures of the college educated and those with less education. At issue for educational policy makers is the opportunity to recognize different paterns of beliefs, if they exist, among different status groups.

The Gallup Poll (Elam, 1978, pp. 257-292) of 1,276 respondents is reduced to 1269 and is divided into two educational levels. Those with as least some college education make up one group of 447 cases. Those respondents with trade school, high school or less education constitute the second group of 822 cases.

The beliefs of the educated show no greater constraint than do those of the less well educated. In comparing both groups it can be seen that the loadings on the factors constitute a simple structure with no issues loading over .3 on more than one factor (communalities and factor loadings may be found in Appendices E and F).

The better educated have patterns of belief including socializtion, individual needs, academic achievement but without testing for high school greduation, utilitarian concerns with college rather than vocational education, and the lack of proper financial support for the schools, as illustrated in Figure 7.

The less well educated place greater emphasis on skills (the second dimension) as illustrated in Figure 8. Their patterns of belief include

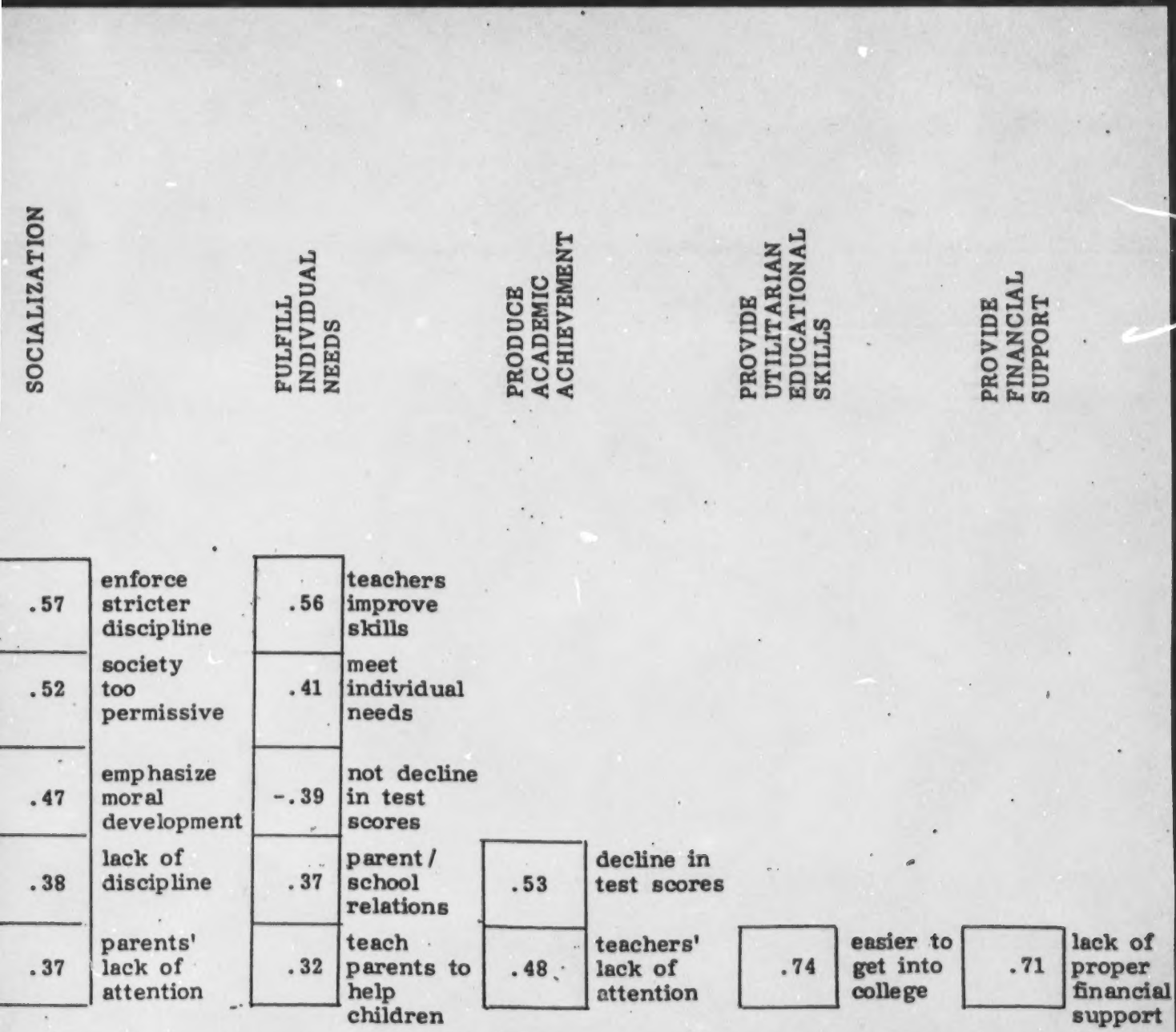


Figure 7. Some college education.

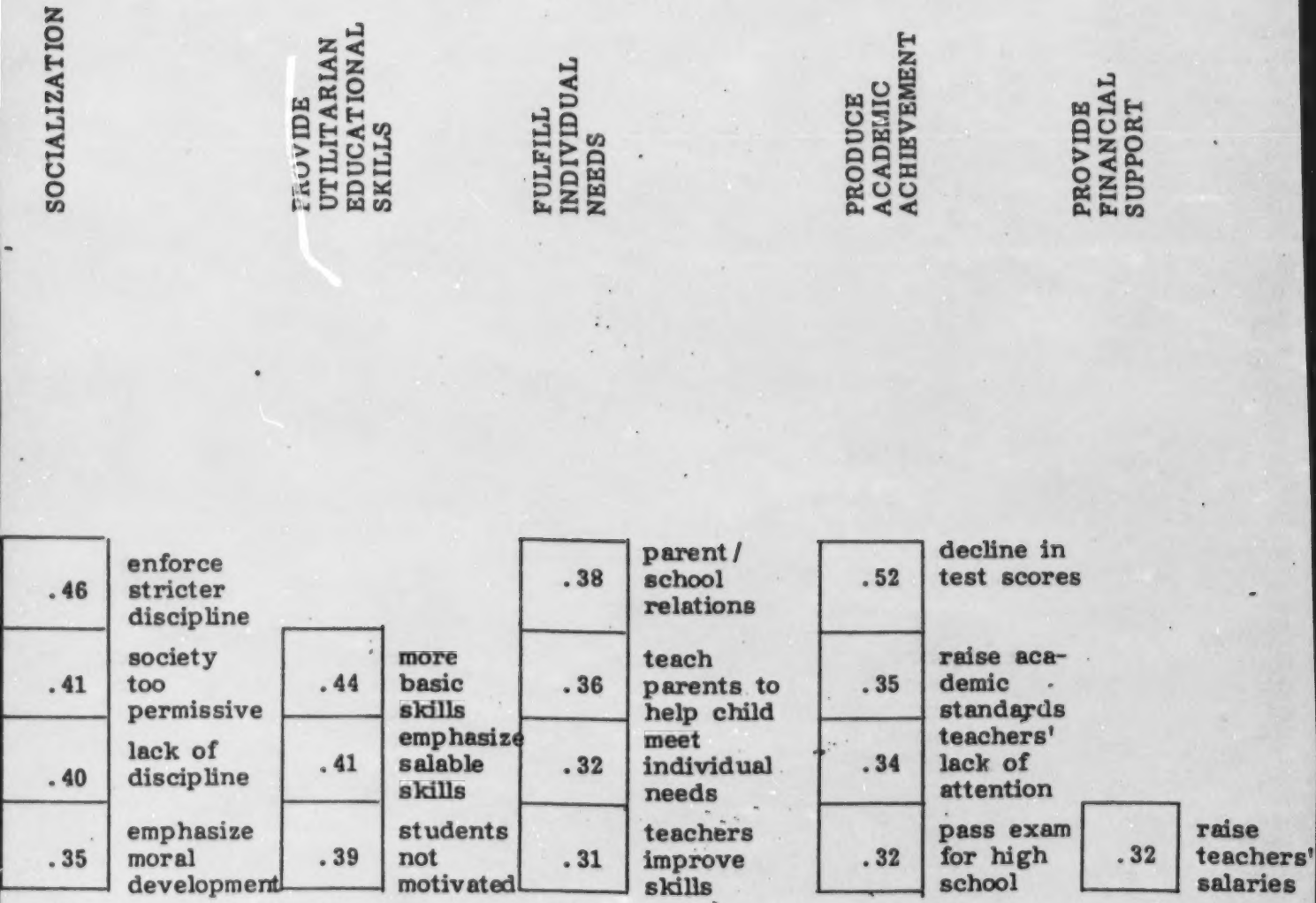


Figure 8. Trade school, high school, or less education.

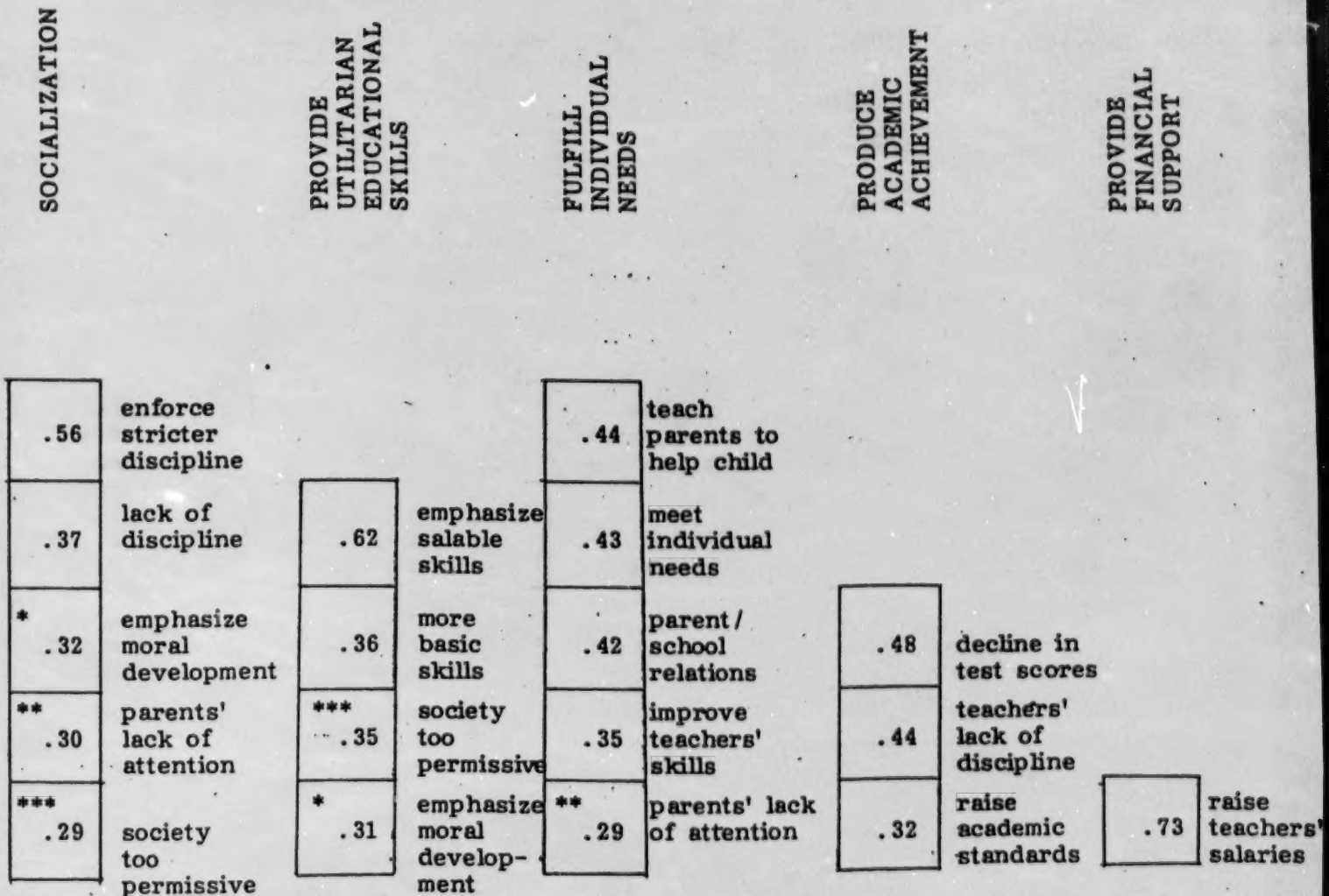
socialization, utilitarian concern with educational skills, fulfilling individual needs, and academic achievement including testing for high school graduation.[20]

The utilitarian goals of education are expressed as desiring skills for jobs after high school or skills for further education (Elam, 1978, p. 299). The better educated do not have a belief structure that includes basic skills or salable skills as do the less well educated.[21] Not unexpectedly, utilitarian skills such as these are not a part of the utilitarian educational goal. Entrance to college is the goal of many of the college educated and these respondents think getting into college is easier than it used to be. This response is the only opportunity to express desires for schools to prepare students for college since college preparation as a goal of the school is not represented in specific questions.[22] The emergence of this factor encourages the speculation that preparation for entrance to college is the extended argument, or the other end of the continuum, for utilitarian educational skills. Entrance to college is the utilitarian concern of the educated.

Residential Location: Rural, Suburban, or Urban

Public schools and the demands placed on them have been described differently depending on where the school is located, in a city, suburb or the country. In rural areas and small towns the issues discussed are a lack of financial support and a lack of advanced curriculum offerings, declining enrollments, and a desire to socialize children into the local community life (Barker, 1964; Peshkin, 1978; Stake & Easley, 1978; Vidich & Bensman, 1960).

The suburbs are often equated with the upper-middle class, well educated. Here, an overindulgence of children, an over-concern with


SOCIALIZATION
PROVIDE UTILITARIAN EDUCATIONAL SKILLS
FULFILL INDIVIDUAL NEEDS
PRODUCE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT
PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT
.56 enforce stricter discipline
.37 lack of discipline
* .32 emphasize moral development
** .30 parents' lack of attention
*** .29 society too permissive
.62 emphasize salable skills
.36 more basic skills
*** .35 society too permissive
* .31 emphasize moral develop- ment
.44 teach parents to help child
.43 meet individual needs
.42 parent / school relations
.35 improve teachers' skills
** .29 parents' lack of attention
.48 decline in test scores
.44 teachers' lack of discipline
.32 raise academic standards
.73 raise teachers' salaries

*one issue loading on more than one factor
**a second issue loading on more than one factor
***a third issue loading on more than one factor

Figure 9. Rural residence of respondent.

acheivement, and an excessive interest in or lack of attention to children are all found (Havinghurst, 1952; Hollingshead, 1949; Hyman, 1953: Stake & Easley, 1978).

The inner city has been described as the area with the greatest problems and the greatest challenges by those seeking to correct the problems. Insufficient money, lack of student motivation, low achievement scores, and discipline are all named as problems (Coleman, 1966; Riessman, 1962; Sexton, 1961; Stake & Easley, 1978). Do these qualitative differences lead to beliefs about the public schools that are qualitatively different in their structure and content? In other words, do people structure their beliefs about education differently according to where they live?

The Gallup Poll (Elam, 1978, pp. 257-292) of 1,276 respondents is divided into respondents from one of three residential locations--rural, suburban, or urban. Those not living in any SMSA make up one group of 420 cases defined as rural residents. Those living in an SMSA but not the inner city make up the second group of 471 cases defined as suburban residents. The final group of 385 respondents living in an inner city SMSA are defined as urban residents. The interviewers provided this geographic information on all respondents; therefore, the sample size is not reduced due to this distinction.

The beliefs of these groups all demonstrate about an equal amount of constraint. In comparing the groups, the loadings on the factors constitute a simple structure with the urban sample but not with the rural or suburban sample (communalities and factor loadings may be found in Appendices G, H and I). As displayed in Figure 9, the rural group

SOCIALIZATION		FULFILL INDIVIDUAL NEEDS		PRODUCE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT		PROVIDE UTILITARIAN EDUCATIONAL SKILLS		TEACHERS AND DISCIPLINE	
.53	society too permissive	.44	meet individual needs			.39	more basic skills		
.49	enforce stricter discipline	.42	improve teachers' skills			.33	emphasize salable skills	-.45	not lack of financial support
.47	emphasize moral development	.32	teach parent to help child	.58	decline in test score	.30	poor curriculum	* .35	teachers' lack of attention
.30	parents' lack of attention	.32	improve parent/ school relations	.46	pass exam for high school	* .29	teachers' lack of attention	.33	lack of discipline

*one issue loading on more than one factor

Figure 10. Suburban residence of respondents.

SOCIALIZATION		FULFILL INDIVIDUAL NEEDS INCLUDING VOCATIONAL		PRODUCE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT		POOR CURRICULUM IS A PROBLEM		PROVIDE FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND STUDENT MOTIVATION	
.45	society too permissive	.53	teachers improve skills						
.45	enforce stricter discipline	-.41	not decline in test score						
.45	emphasize moral development	.35	meet individual needs	.64	decline in test scores				
.39	parents' lack of attention	.34	improve parent / school relations	.38	teachers' lack of attention	.57	poor curriculum	.38	students not motivated
.39	lack of discipline	.33	emphasize salable skills	.30	pass exam for high school	-.31	not lack of financial support	.30	more basic skills
								.42	lack of proper financial support

Figure 11. Urban residence of respondents.

has patterns of belief including socialization, utilitarian educational skills with concern for socialization issues, individual needs, academic achievement without testing for high school graduation, and raising teachers' salaries. Three socialization issues--parents, society; and morals--load fairly evenly on more than one factor which substantiates discussions in the literature about socialization issues permeating the beliefs of rural folks (Barker, 1964; Peshkin, 1978; Vidich & Bensman, 1960).

In the suburbs the patterns of belief that emerge are socialization, individual needs, academic achievement, utilitarian educational skills, and a fifth factor including discipline with teachers responsible for the decline in test scores but no lack of financial support for the schools. Suburbanites do not constrain their belief of teachers' responsibility to the academic achievement dimension but appear to blame teachers on two dimensions. (Figure 10).

The city respondents have belief patterns including socialization, individual needs that include interest in salable skills, academic achievement, poor curriculum, and lack of financial support linked to basic skills and students' lack of motivation as shown in Figure 11.

The Comparison of Dimensions Across Subgroups

In the comparison of beliefs across subgroups, the figures (12, 13, 14, and 15) representing educational functions are the dimensions derived from the research. While the interpretation of some of the dimensions changes for subgroups, the ability to discuss the similarities and differences necessitates some categorical identification.

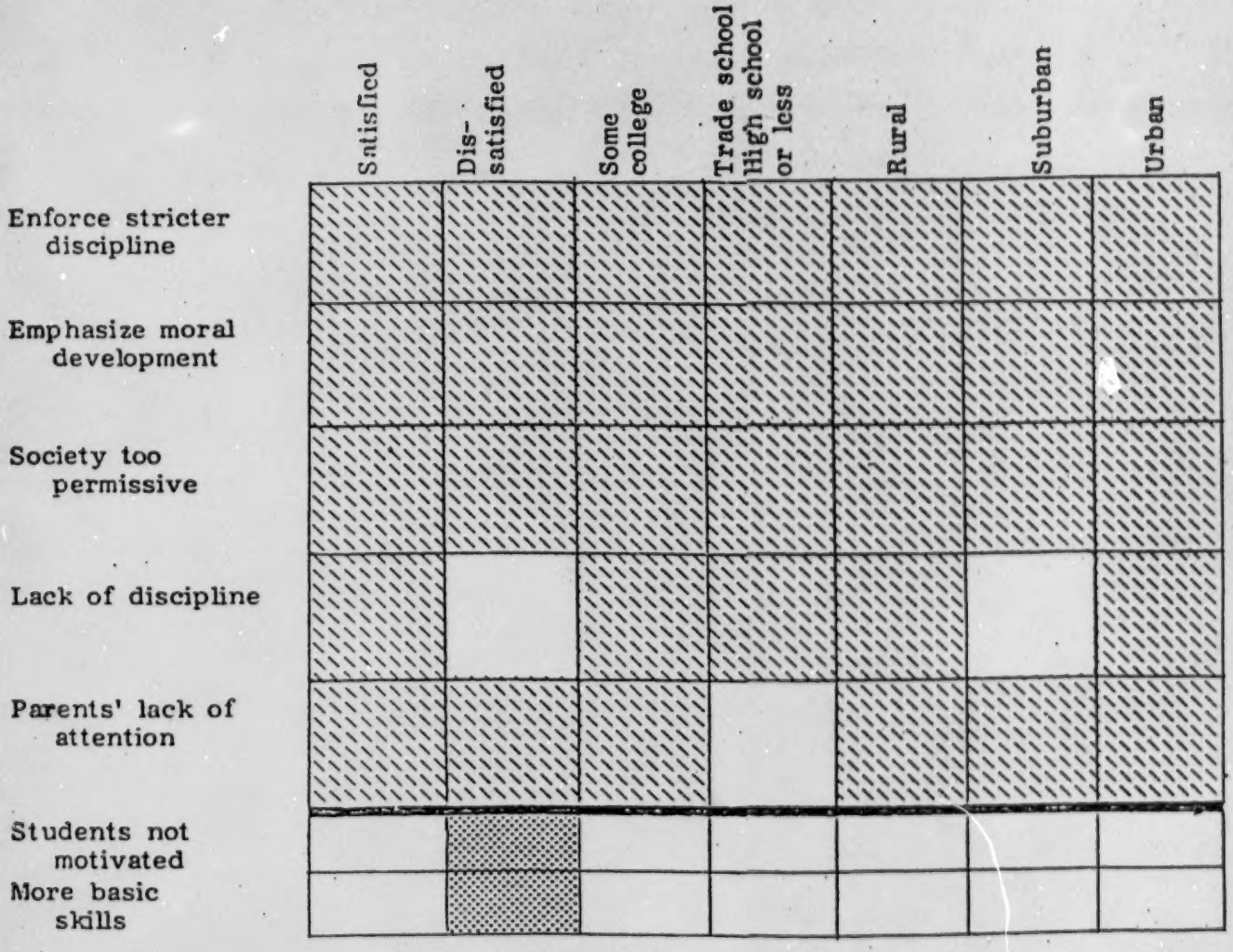


Figure 12. Socialization.

Thus, for comparative purposes the ends or goals of education derived from the first factor analysis of the total sample are used to facilitate the discussion. The policy issues are listed in the left-hand column and noted under each subgroup. An empty space means that issue is not associated with the dimension. The policy issues listed below the bar are those additional policy issues associated with a particular dimension in particular subgroups. As discussed next, socialization and academic achievement are similar across groups while utilitarian concerns and individual needs are structured differently.

Socialization

The first belief system, classified as socialization, includes the following policy views: Lack of discipline in the schools is the public schools' biggest problem, stricter discipline should be enforced, more emphasis should be placed on moral development, and our permissive society and parents' lack of attention to their children are responsible for declining test scores.

As shown in Figure 12, we find the socialization dimension in every interest group. The belief that schools should play a role in socializing children is found across all groups regardless of educational attainment, residence, or how highly the public school is regarded. This is not a desired function only for lower status groups or the inner-city resident or where there is dissatisfaction with the public schools as one might expect. Even among suburbanites, the well educated, and those who rate their schools highly, socialization emerges as a dimension.

Produce Academic Achievement

Academic achievement consists of policy issues reflecting the beliefs that declining test scores mean the quality of education is declining, teachers are to blame for the decline, and students should be required to pass an examination to graduate from high school.

As shown in Figure 13, this dimension appears consistently across all groups, and basic skills are never associated with this educational function. Emphasizing basic skills , often referenced in any discussion of how to raise test scores, appears with other policy issues such as poor curriculum. No group by educational attainment, degree of satisfaction with the schools, or residential location demonstrates a belief dimension that associates emphasizing basic skills with the belief that lower test scores mean the quality of education is declining or a test should be given for high school graduation. Thus, it is far too simplistic to assume emphasis on basic skills as a policy strategy for raising test scores will be sufficient to change the evaluation of people who belief the schools' function to be academic achievement.

The issue of what academic standards are, is really not answered in this survey, although raising academic standards is associated with the academic achievement function of education with rural residents and those with high school or less education. While some may think of academic standards as getting into a "good college" or being well read in the classics, or taking more science and math in high school, others may express it more generally as children are not being pushed to work hard enough. There are few academic demands on youngsters and little homework. It may be some people feel children should be stretched and

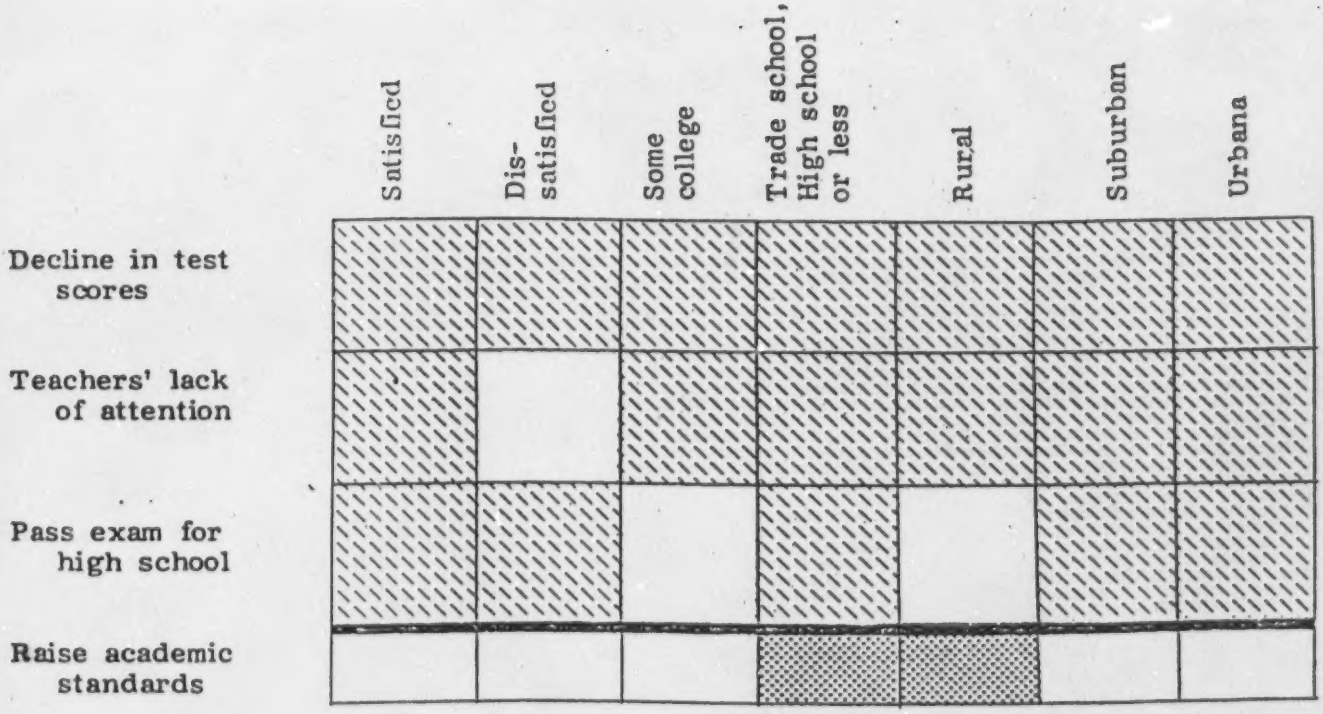


Figure 13. Produce academic achievement.

made to work harder even when they have demonstrated some degree of competence. Thus it would be questionable for policy makers to leap from the evidence that basic skills are not well taught and declining test scores are a symptom, to the conclusion that emphasizing basic skills would influence people to believe that the academic quality of education is improving. Minimum standards may not be adequate when quality is the issue.

Fulfill Individual Needs

The next dimension is classified as individual needs and is shown in Figure 14. It includes the policy issues of meeting individual needs of youngsters, enhancing skills of both teachers and parents for helping children, and emphasizing school-community relations.

While the individual needs function of education is not specific about what actions meet the individual needs of children, individual needs are associated with policy issues utilizing personnel to accomplish the goal. Greater costs are also associated with this goal. For instance, updating teachers' skills and teaching parents how to help their children, even when it increases taxes, are policy issues associated with individual needs.

When we examine how people feel about the quality of education this pattern changes. Where the ratings of the schools are low, raising teachers' salaries is added to the other issues causing even more expense to be associated with this function of education. Where schools are highly rated, individual needs are associated with emphasizing basic skills, motivating children, and believing a poor curriculum to be the

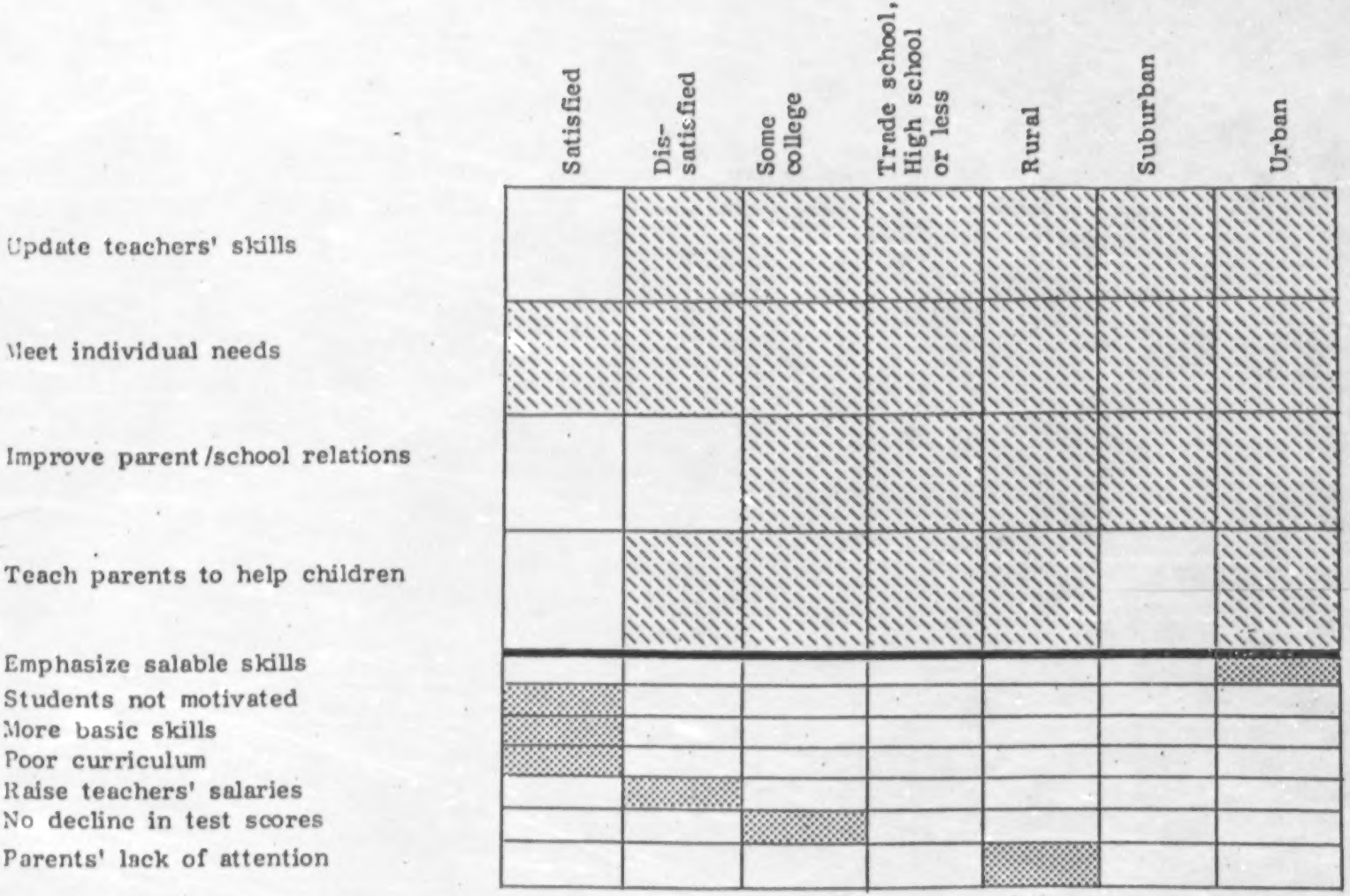


Figure 14. Fulfill individual needs.

biggest problem in the schools. In this case, the interpretation is closer to individualizing the curriculum. Thus, individual needs of children changes from spending money in order to provide personnel with skills to help children, to an interpretation of individualizing the curriculum.

Provide Utilitarian Educational Skills

Again and again we find reference to the belief that some people think the schools' primary function is to prepare students for jobs (Elam, 1978, pp. 230, 268). Other references point to the schools' inability to prepare students as expected or claimed (Berg, 1970; Spring, 1976; Stake & Easley, 1978). Questions concerning preparation for a job are few in this survey and skewed toward vocational education since the questions relate to preparation at the high school level. The one question regarding career salable skills is associated with an emphasis on basic skills, a belief that poor curriculum is the biggest problem in the schools and the belief that students are not motivated (as shown in Figure 15). There are no questions that suggest preparation for a job requiring educational preparation beyond high school.

When we examine this function of education across subgroups, we find those with high school or less education demonstrate beliefs as described above. However, those with some college education do not demonstrate an interest in utilitarian educational skills as previously defined. In lieu of emphasis on career salable skills, basic skills, or poor curriculum, we find the better educated substitue the belief that it is easier to get into college. The investigator would argue that if

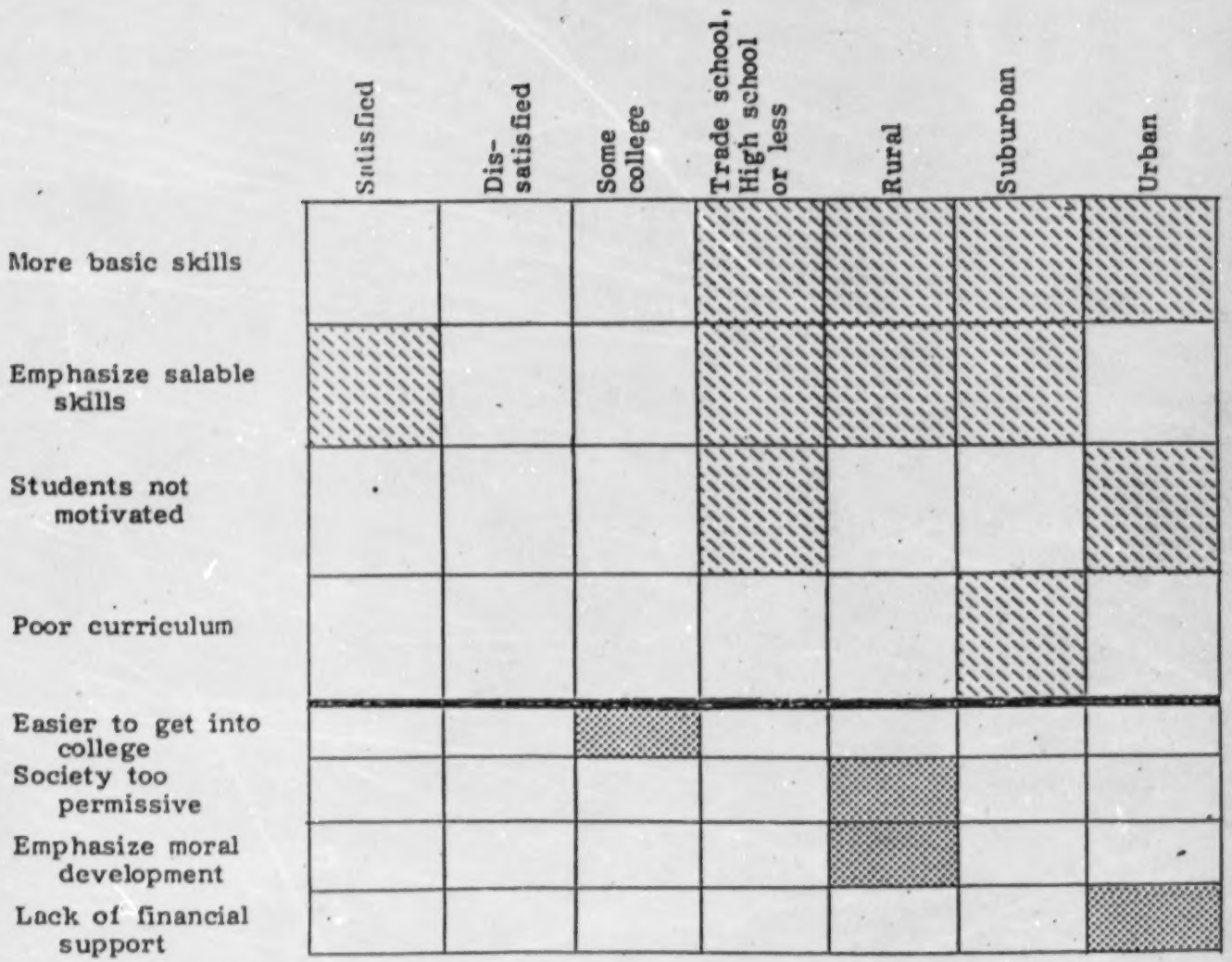


Figure 15. Provide utilitarian skills.

utilitarian skills, such as career salable skills, are preparation for the work world, college entrance is the utilitarian skill needed for those whose career preparation requires further education.

Provide Financial Support

Even though studies have shown that the amount of money spent per child on education bears little relationship to the child's progress,[23] educators are continually concerned about support among taxpayers. The public is evenly divided on whether the amount of money a school district spends on educational programs per child makes a great difference or a little difference; although the higher the respondent's educational attainment, the more likely he is to think the additional money spent on schools will improve student achievement (Elam, 1978, pp. 156-157).

Fiscal issues are addressed in several questions of the 1976 Gallup Poll. There are questions about paying taxes to train parents to help their children with schoolwork, about updating teachers' skills, about raising teachers' salaries, and about providing adequate but undefined proper financial support for schools. While the findings in the current research show a one-issue factor interpreted as financial support, it would be a mistake to conclude that financing the public schools can be discussed in isolation from beliefs about the functions of public schools. The public may not be less interested in supporting the public schools when financial aid is associated with a particular function of education.

When examining specific policy issues of financing education, as can be seen in Figures 14 and 15, the responses have more meaning. The

financial issues facing the schools can be associated with any dimension depending on the function of education the fiscal question addresses. The beliefs in paying taxes to train parents to help children and updating teachers' skills are associated with the beliefs interpreted as individual needs of children. Raising teachers' salaries also is associated with individual needs where there is dissatisfaction with the schools. In other words, if raising taxes for vocational education had been a potential response, we would expect it to be part of the function identified as providing utilitarian educational skills.

In this analysis, it appears the belief that more money will change things for the better is an oversimplification. All questions concerning financial support are not part of a single dimension. Thus it is more likely people are willing to give financial aid if it is focused on their beliefs and priorities about educational functions.

Summary and Conclusions:

The Gallup Poll data show the educational beliefs of citizens are not organized along one dimension but are multidimensional in structure. It shows that the beliefs tend to be associated with the functions of the educational system--providing socialization, fulfilling individual needs, producing academic achievement, and teaching utilitarian educational skills. Socialization of youngsters and academic achievment are found among the better educated as well as the less well educated, in every type of community--rural, urban or suburban--and whether citizens are satisfied or less than satisfied with the public schools. Citizens' belief patterns regarding utilitarian educational skills' (curriculum

issues) and individual needs of youngsters vary by educational attainment level, degree of satisfaction with the schools and type of community in which a respondent resides.

While the public's confidence in the public schools is at an all time low, the belief that education is important to success is still high (Gallop, 1981:35). Thus it is not surprising discussions abound about what the goals of education should be and how public schools can be improved. These discussions include a search for a common unifying goal for public education, speculation on the impact of tuition tax credits on public education, and the fear of losing the common socializing function of public schooling.[24] The current research is relevant to a number of educational policy issues raised by these discussions.

In the search for a common goal that can regain the public's confidence and support, discussions have focused on literacy (Graham, 1981), student performance and academic achievement (Kirst, 1981), development of character (Kagan, 1981), and the moral climate of a school (Grant, 1981). While these one dimensional or one issue goals may be appropriate in an ideological argument,[25] focusing on one goal would not successfully respond to the expectations citizens have for the multiple goals of education given the finding that people have beliefs about schools that are not one diminsional.

Whether there are multiple goals because people believe these goals are related in a causal manner, has not been answered by this research. While public discussions in the mass media (Cohen, 1981) identify reasons for parental interest in private school education as desiring discipline and academic standards, Coleman (1981) gives a causal analysis

arguing standards for homework, dress and behavior are important variables in the outcome of academic achievement.[26]

But there is also discussion about ideological preferences and their association with education and class values, and the argument continues, if given a choice via tuition tax credits, the more educated and higher socio-economic groups would desert the public schools. However as suggested by this research, educational beliefs from one group of citizens to the next may not be as different as some people argue and many fear. Citizens, regardless of their educational attainment or residential location or satisfaction with the schools, tend to structure their beliefs in a similar manner regarding academic achievement and socialization of youngsters. In other words, if given a choice, the well educated may not as a group choose a completely different set of goals for education than the less well educated. Some citizens within every group would be interested in the same goals.

Conversely, not all dimensions have similar content. Curricular and individual needs issues are patterned differently. In fact, these differences may be areas of choice the public schools could capitalize on. Choice, developed by experts in education and delivered to clients who may choose the program of attendance, could increase the commitment to public education that is considered such a problem by teachers, school boards, and administrators.

Thus, it is too simplistic to say it is the liberals against the conservatives or the authoritarians against the humanists. Clearly accepted generalizations of a liberal conservative argument are inappropriate for citizens. But it is also lacking in insight to argue that

citizens all have different goals and it is impossible for the public schools to respond to these differences. This research finds consistent conceptions of what schools should be along two dimensions, socialization and academic achievement, conceptions that could be utilized to provide a common denominator across socioeconomic groups in public schools.

Notes

COPY

1. As the discussion progresses and becomes more elaborate, the tendency occurs to refer to the educational beliefs as if they are discrete categories. This device facilitates the discussion but it should be kept in mind that these categories may be ends of one or more continua.

2. This notion of logical consistancy or cognitive power has been the subject of interest in political science literature where beliefs are examined to see if most people structure their thinking in relationship to ideologies that have been espoused by political leaders. It is this notion of consistancy or logical thinking that Converse describes as constraint in reference to a person's political beliefs. Constraint refers to the functional interdependence or consistency between various components of a respondent's beliefs, and Converse (1964) defines it as

> the success we would have predicting, given initial knowedge that an individual holds a specific attitude, that he holds certain further ideas and attitudes. (p. 207)

A structured belief system assumes consistency in beliefs and is demonstrated or operationalized by a correlation between two or more variables. Then any structure would be demonstrated through a significant correlation.

3. An attempt has been made to differentiate between beliefs and attitudes. Beliefs represent the information a person has about an object; they link an object to some attribute. Generally speaking, beliefs refer to the judgments a person makes about the subjective probability that an object and an attribute are connected. An attitude, on the other hand, includes an evaluation of the object of belief (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Rokeach (1968), in a critique of Fishbein and Raven (1962), concluded that the distinctions between belief and attitude are difficult to maintain in research. In the Gallup Poll the problem is not resolved either. Thus, the importance of the discussion for this research lies in the recognition of these overlapping components. All questions in the Gallup Poll (Elam, 1978) include evaluative as well as cognitive components. For example, questions are asked such as, "What are the most important activities a school should engage in to improve the quality of education?" or "What is the biggest problem in schools today?" It is clear that there is an assumption of evaluation as well as the inference that particular activities lead to certain consequences and these consequences are the valued or feared consequences. Beliefs and attitudes are conceived of as having properties of description of consequences (I believe that more education means a person gets a better job); of evaluation (I believe education is good); of prescription or exhortation (I believe it is desirable that schools should teach the basic skills).

4. The term function is used in both the biological and social sciences. Its usage in the sociological literature takes on the connotation of "interdependence, reciprocal or mutually dependent variation" and is adopted from the biological sciences. There are problems with the interpretation and tautological considerations of functional analyses, although these will not be considered here (refer to Merton, 1967, pp. 73-138). Function includes the purpose, aim or intention of the subject of analysis on one hand and on the other it refers to the consequences of utility of the subject of analysis. The separation of aim or purpose from consequences is certainly not clear in the education literature when functions are discussed. However, with policy analyses after the fact latent functions have been exposed and the mass media has disseminated the findings.

5. "The group of panel members included: James Betchkal, editor, American School Board Journal, National School Boards Association, Washington, D.C.; Edward Brainard, director, Leadership Development, Colorado Department of Education, Denver (now professor of education, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley); B. Frank Brown, division director, /I/D/E/A/, Melbourne, Florida; Stanley M. Elam, editor, Phi Delta Kappan, Bloomington, Indiana; William J. Ellena, superintendent, Public Schools, Charlottesville, Virginia; Sidney P. Marland, Jr., president, College entrance Examination Board, New York City; William Mitchell, superintendent, Public Schools, Greeley, Colorado; John W. Porter, state superintendent of public instruction, Department of Education Lansing, Michigan; Samuel G. Sava, executive Director, /I/D/E/A/, and vice president, Educational Activities, Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio; Suzanne Sepper, teacher, Bayview Elementary School, Fort Lauderdale, Florida; and M. Donald Thomas, superindendent of schools, Salt Lake City School District, Utah." (Elam, 1978, p. 257)

6. Public schools are the formal organization of the institution of education. This research uses questions regarding the formal organization of education--the public schools.

7. The questions that are excluded for these reasons are questions 26 (teachers' qualitites), 20a, 20b, 20c (children's qualities), 34, 35 (legal system), 25, 30 (family), 24, 28, 29, 31, 32 (economics of education), respectively.

8. While integration-segregation (2) and busing (15) were collapsed into one problem when they were reported by Elam (1978, p. 288), it was not done for the current research since these responses were originally separate. When separate neither received an affirmative response greater than 8.3 and 7.2 percent, respectively, which has potential for measurement error when dichotomized data are used.

9. Questions 17, 19 and 36b have multiple responses. Gallup obtained an average of 1.3 positive responses per person identifying the biggest problems in public schools (questions 17), 3.5 responses per person regarding how the quality of schools can be improved (questions 19), and 3.1 responses per person stating the reasons for a decline in national test scores (questions 36b). The multiple positive responses from questions 19 and 36b are numbered according to the order in which they appeared on a card presented to the respondent at the time of the interview. The responses were developed from open-ended questions asked in preceding surveys (Elam, 1978, pp. 12, 83, 84, 120, 179, 180, 213, 241-242).

10. Surveys with responses that can be analyzed as continuous data should be conducted in any future poll. An opportunity to rank order the data when preferences are requested from the respondents would allow for a normal distribution of responses and would permit retention of all responses. In other words, more variables could be retained in the analyses, thus allowing more sophisticated interpretation of the responses.

11. A graph is plotted of eigen values against the factors in the order of extraction and the shape of the curve is used to judge the cut-off point. This point at which the curve straightens out and becomes a linear relationship is the number of factors to be extracted (Harman, 1967).

12. Constraint is measured by the communalities reported in Appendix A and is the sum of the squares of the loadings on the various factors for a given issue. The communality is the percentage of variation in opinions on a given issue that can be accounted for by the factors. However, these issues were not selected as educational issues that could be explained by hypothesized factors. These issues are popular or current rationales for what is or should be happening in schools. This research is a case of working with the best material available rather than necessarily the best possible. Thus, the constraint that is evident is informative and more constraint could be expected with a selection of issues that were more specific to the educational function.

13. The .3 criterion was selected for interpreting the factors given a sample size of 1,246 (Nunnelly, 1967).

14. Three multiple response questions contribute to the structure as seen in AppendixA.The multiple response questions are: What are the biggest problems in the schools? How should the quality of education be improved? What is responsible for the decline in test scores? The responses which are grouped together on the questionnaire do not load on the same factors, which is often considered a problem (Harman, 1967).

Appendix B displays the factors on which the responses to these questions load. The question asking what the schools' biggest problems are had three possible responses that are included in the analysis (see question 17). Each of the identified problems loads on a different factor. These problems are lack of discipline (Factor 1), poor curriculum (Factor 3), and the lack of proper financial support for the schools (Factor 5).

Another question (question 19) asking how the schools can improve their quality of education has seven of the potential nine responses spread over three of the factors. Stricter discipline and emphasizing moral development load on the first factor. Improving parent-school relations, meeting individual needs of children, and providing opportunities for teachers to keep up to date regarding new methods are issues that load on the second factor. Devoting more attention to teaching basic skills and emphasizing career education and development of salable skills load on the third factor.

Another question with the potential for six responses is the request to name reasons for the decline in test scores (question 36b). The question produces four responses that load on three factors, the first, third, and fourth. The first factor includes the belief that society is becoming to permissive and there is less parent attention, concern and supervision of the child. The third factor includes the belief that students are not motivated. The fourth factor includes beliefs that declining test scores indicate the quality of education is declining and this decline is because teachers are giving less attention to youngsters.

15. With this interpretation there were three additional responses that would be expected to contribute to this factor. That children watch to much television and it is easier to get into college are finer distinctions for the statement that society is too permissive. Both of these statements load highest (.19 and .11) on this factor.

The one question on moral behavior that would be expected to load on this factor (.13) but does not, states that parents now have the responsibility for the moral behavior of their children but the school should take a greater share of this responsibility. This response does not load on any other factor and is a question of responsibility for behavior. While the respondents might agree that morals should be emphasized in the school, it is another giant step to remove part of the responsibility from parents and give it to the schools as part of the socialization process, expecially in view of the percentage of people (75%) who feel consideration should be given to parents' views in deciding what is morally acceptable to teach in the schools (Elam, 1978, p, 237).

16. In a factor analysis that included only variables that loaded at .3 or higher, the noteworthy difference is in the factor individual needs. In this analysis emphasizing individual needs of children loaded at .438 and providing opportunity for teachers to improve skills loaded at .405, thus reversing the order of importance of these issues to the factor.

17. "Many laymen interested in education, as well as educators, think of other subjects as 'basic' besides the traditional three R's" (Elam, 1978, p. 299). The general public was asked if they think of anything besides reading, writing, and arithmetic when this term is used. The responses "indicate that the public regards the basics largely in terms of the traditional three subject areas" (Elam, 1978, p.2).

18. While this factor would also be expected to include the response that career preparation should be given more emphasis in high school (question 33a), this response was possibly interpreted more broadly than vocational training and salable skills. One interpretation is that parents desire counseling about careers and further education rather than immediate training for careers (Elam, 1978, p. 299).

Conversations about utilitarian educational skills also usually include concerns with testing. For instance, it has been argued that the "emphasis on basics could result in higher national test scores" (Elam, 1978, p. 260) and reading instructions and doing simple math problems have been associated with test requirements for high school graduation (Elam, 1978, p. 231). In addition, college preparatory courses are often associated with college entrance exams such as the ACT and SAT exams. However, testing and dropping test scores are concerns that are part of another dimension.

19. Another question on testing is not part of this factor, either. That question asks if youngsters should be able to leave school as soon as they can pass a test demonstrating a competency in reading, writing, and figuring and either continue their education in a junior college or enter the labor force (question 22).

When a question has many specific parts that require agreement, it is more difficult to know which item in the sentence is causing the negative or positive response. In this case, the question states a specific age upon which to leave school (14 years old), level of accomplishment, and options upon leaving school (job or junior college).

These specifications make the question too ambiguous to be considered positively by those believing in leaving school at an older age, those believing in more advanced opportunities for students (college rather than junior college), or those believing minimal competency is not adequate but schools should provide vocational education before a student leaves. Thus it is not surprising this question is not a part of this or any other factor structure.

20. The factor interpreted as academic achievement includes beliefs that the decline in test scores means the quality of education is declining and teachers' lack of attention to youngsters is the reason for the decline. The less well educated also include the belief that a youngster should pass an exam to graduate from high school while the better educated do not. Elam concludes, "It is the least well educated, strangely enough, who are most in favor of such a requirement. The same finding was reported in the 1958 study" (1978, p. 246).

As more people attain entrance or access to college or high school, it may not be strange for exit requirements to become as issue. Currently, access to graduation from high school is not denied because of a different curriculum. Successful completion of a vocational curriculum as well as successful completion of a college preparatory curriculum may be used to meet graduation requirements. This argument has now been extended to successful completion of a special education curriculum.

If one may graduate from high school but not college, a high school diploma is important. However, if anyone may receive a high school diploma, the diploma embodies no meaningful expectation of accomplishment to an employer. It is not surprising that those people most likely to be dependent on a high school diploma as a symbol of accomplishment would like to preserve that meaning. Testing may be perceived as the opportunity to preserve the high school graduation as a symbol of accomplishment.

Questions separating testing for minimum academic requirements from testing for academic excellence would be preferable. In other words, is the desire for testing as an exit requirement from high school a belief held by the less well educated and the desire for testing for entrance to college held by the better educated? These notions are implied when the academic achievement factor is examined for these two subgroups of the population. The questions include minimum academic requirements that are desired by some people but do not include any questions that could be interpreted as a desire for achievement in order to enter college.

21. Basic skills education, such as reading and arithmetic (Elam, 1978, p. 299), and career salable skills, such as typing, auto mechanics, nurse's aide or business machines (Elam, 1978, p. 231), are considered an important way to improve the public schools. In fact, these issues emerge as the second factor for the less well educated group who are most interested in the utilitarian nature of education as expressed as career salable skills and basic skills.

22. There are no questions in the 1976 Gallup Poll to tap the desire for college preparatory courses or professional jobs demanding a higher level of training after the completion of high school. While vocational education questions are included in the survey, a desire for college preparatory courses should be added to the survey for interpretative support for different utilitarian concerns among the educated.

23. "Noting the substantial increase in per pupil expenditure between 1969 and 1975, Hanushek said, 'Review of a wide range of sophisticated and comprehensive studies of students performance indicates that there is no relationship between expenditures and achievement.' Eric Hanushek, director of the Public Policy Analysis Program at the University of Rochester (New York), appearing as a witness for the defense, based his testimony on the relationship between school expenditures and student achievement on an analysis of 112 schools" (Education Times, May 1981).

24. Coleman has argued it is a myth that the common school ever existed and certainly does not exist now. While not arguing that a common school exists, it is important to recognize the power of a myth (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

25. An ideology is an organized belief system that is shared by a segment of the population and can be presented to others. It has properties of description of consequences, of evaluation, of prescription or exhortation and historical consciousness (Mullins, 1972).

26. The Gallup Poll also found parents of private school children believing that discipline is the biggest problem in the schools and that the quality of education has gone down as demonstrated by falling test scores. A separate factor analysis could not be run on these private school parents since the sample size was to small. This group would have to be oversampled for this comparison to be made in the future.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Factor Structure: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues

Issue	Commu-nality	Socializ-ation	Fulfill Individ-ual Needs	Provide Utilitari-an Edu-cational Skills	Produce Academic Achieve-ment	Provide Finan-cial Support
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.187	.382	-.086	-.060	-.045	-.170
Lack of proper financial support	.283	-.119	.072	.105	.002	.503
Poor Curriculum	.169	-.117	-.010	.312	.120	-.209
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.286	.515	-.100	-.055	.081	-.021
Raise teachers' salaries	.075	-.032	.243	-.044	-.063	.094
Improve parent/school relations	.147	.133	.355	.045	-.009	-.033
Raise academic standards	.118	.159	.096	.198	.209	-.019
More basic skills	.173	.118	-.040	.393	.048	.007
Meet individual needs	.201	-.085	.368	.229	.060	-.050
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.232	.010	.424	.221	-.056	.020
Emphasize salable skills	.177	.056	.085	.377	-.036	.152
Emphasize moral development	.248	.448	.150	.149	-.018	-.041
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.103	.038	-.050	-.098	.299	.026
Pass basic test/job-college	.036	-.164	.028	.036	-.065	.057
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.126	-.042	.348	.026	-.047	.021
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.041	.130	.103	-.051	.080	-.067
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.042	-.065	.085	.175	-.002	.002
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.481	.128	-.256	.108	.620	.059
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.038	.115	.113	-.077	.054	.052
Teachers' lack of attention	.203	-.008	.079	.147	.372	-.191
Society too permissive	.228	.425	-.054	.132	-.033	.161
Easier to get into college	.015	.093	-.013	.052	.052	.019
Students not motivated	.151	.194	.075	.317	-.026	.079
Parents' lack of attention	.145	.331	.147	.105	.053	-.002

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APPENDIX B

Factors Derived from Possible Responses on Policy Issues

SOCIALIZATION--First Factor

17. What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public school this community must deal?

lack of discipline (.382)

19. Which of these ways do you think would do most to improve the quality of public school education overall?

enforce stricter discipline (.515)
emphasize moral development (.448)

36b. Which reasons do you believe are the most responsible for the decline in test scores?

society is becoming too permissive (.425)
less parent attention, concern and supervision of the child (.331)

FULFILL INDIVIDUAL NEEDS--Second Factor

19. Which of these ways do you think would do most to improve the quality of public school education overall?

improve patent-school relations (.355)
meet individual needs of students (.368)
provide opportunities for teachers to keep up to date regarding new methods/subjects (.424)

23. Would you be willing to pay additional taxes to be spent to offer courses at convenient times to parents in order to help them help their children in school?

yes (.348)

PROVIDE UTILITARIAN EDUCATIONAL SKILLS--Third Factor

17. What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public school in this community must deal?

poor curriculum (.312)

19. Which of these ways do you think would do most to improve the quality of public school education overall

devote more attention to teaching of basic skills (.393)
emphasize career education and development of salable skills (.377)

36b. Which reasons do you believe are the most responsible for the decline in test scores?

students aren't motivated (.317)

PRODUCE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT--Fourth Factor

21. All high school students in the United States should be required to pass a standard examination in order to get a high school diploma.

yes (.299)

36a. Do you believe that a decline in national test scores of students in recent years means that the quality of education today is declining?

yes (.620)

36b. Which reasons do you believe are the most responsible for the decline in test scores?

teachers are giving less attention to students (.37)

APPENDIX C

Above Average Satisfaction with Schools: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues

Issues	Commu-nality	Socializ-ation	Individ-ualized Curricu-lum	School Commu-nity Relations	Academ-ic Achieve-ment	Voca-tional
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.121	.329	-.021	-.056	-.014	-.095
Lack of proper financial support	.068	-.004	.086	-.066	-.032	.235
Poor Curriculum	.103	-.075	.304	.039	.041	.037
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.232	.421	-.027	-.060	.221	-.040
Raise teachers' salaries	.051	-.031	-.063	.183	-.110	.001
Improve parent/school relations	.124	.049	.096	.309	-.021	-.130
Raise academic standards	.150	.054	.194	.225	.219	.101
More basic skills	.193	.114	.379	-.048	.070	.170
Meet individual needs	.179	-.020	.356	.199	-.099	-.056
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.353	-.095	.208	.507	-.141	.155
Emphasize salable skills	.328	.013	.211	.075	.005	.527
Emphasize moral development	.258	.415	.000	.277	-.013	.089
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.122	.011	-.085	.030	.333	-.050
Pass basic test/job-college	.064	-.133	.016	-.150	-.152	-.007
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.095	.023	.106	.136	-.209	-.145
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.045	.073	.003	.147	.036	-.131
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.030	-.022	.162	-.027	-.009	.052
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.360	.152	.136	-.200	.528	.028
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.059	.022	-.121	.205	.042	-.019
Teachers' lack of attention	.191	-.033	.283	.008	.296	-.148
Society too permissive	.248	.456	-.027	.022	.081	.180
Easier to get into college	.031	-.122	-.010	.057	.054	.101
Students not motivated	.341	.289	.423	-.103	-.199	.168
Parents' lack of attention	.206	.406	.025	.181	.035	-.079

CASES 558

APPENDIX D

Average and Below Satisfaction with Schools: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues

Issues	Commu-nality	Socializ-ation	Financial Help for Individ-ual Needs	Disci-pline	Academ-ic Achieve-ment	General Dis-satis-faction
Biggest problems in school:						
Lack of discipline	.150	.147	-.088	.383	.045	-.268
Lack of proper financial support	.126	.071	.087	-.495	-.030	-.037
Poor Curriculum	.114	.030	-.016	-.002	.062	.390
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.208	.378	-.164	.321	.100	-.279
Raise teachers' salaries	.097	.008	.327	-.140	-.023	-.151
Improve parent/school relations	.137	.289	.287	.058	-.146	.032
Raise academic standards	.128	.219	.040	.030	.258	.040
More basic skills	.088	.306	-.079	-.080	.011	.171
Meet individual needs	.142	.103	.330	.003	-.000	.298
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.148	.274	.335	-.055	-.023	.039
Emphasize salable skills	.125	.212	.248	-.074	.103	.125
Emphasize moral development	.167	.441	.035	.258	.040	.031
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.108	-.067	-.046	.038	.369	.130
Pass basic test/job-college	.072	-131	.213	-.143	.079	-.072
Pass taxes to teach parents to help child	.134	-.049	.500	.069	.060	-.004
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.083	.050	.019	.257	.050	.044
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.084	.002	.250	-.007	-.078	.092
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.170	.048	-.174	.059	.552	.195
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.076	.112	.025	-.004	.160	-.074
Teachers' lack of attention	.143	.006	.122	.193	.208	.324
Society too permissive	.163	.442	-.071	.035	.039	-.136
Easier to get into college	.065	.135	.053	.075	.221	-.071
Students not motivated	.105	.323	.082	-.026	.080	-.005
Parents' lack of attention	.127	.329	.068	.099	.090	.061

CASES 559

APPENDIX E

Some College Education: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues

Issues	Communality	Socialization	Individual Needs	Academic Achievement	Utilitarian Educational Needs	Financial Support
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.191	.380	.004	.028	-.131	-.171
Lack of proper financial support	.518	-.112	.048	-.035	.047	.707
Poor Curriculum	.076	-.068	.065	.230	.037	-.113
Ways to improve quality of education						
Enforce stricter discipline	.349	.573	-.116	.022	.077	-.012
Raise teachers' salaries	.073	.014	.264	-.022	.046	-.019
Improve parent/school relations	.152	.123	.366	.027	.027	.036
Raise academic standards	.144	.210	-.038	.238	.194	-.063
More basic skills	.094	.159	-.033	.205	.121	.106
Meet individual needs	.195	-.123	.411	.103	.003	.026
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.335	-.023	.555	.160	.021	-.014
Emphasize salable skills	.081	-.024	.122	.132	.207	.074
Emphasize moral development	.236	.472	.058	.059	.062	-.049
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.057	.095	-.128	.139	.094	.062
Pass basic test/job-college	.040	-.165	.099	.005	.052	-.001
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.116	.016	.315	-.111	-.060	.006
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.071	.213	.108	.067	.059	-.078
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.019	-.030	.087	.048	.90	.017
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.497	.169	-.392	.526	.031	.194
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.066	.195	.123	.063	.085	-.043
Teachers' lack of attention	.243	-.012	.065	.480	-.004	-.087
Society too permissive	.306	.516	-.095	-.075	.091	.126
Easier to get into college	.551	.071	-.061	-.011	.736	-.021
Students not motivated	.054	.095	.091	.173	.015	.080
Parents' lack of attention	.150	.366	.036	.037	-.088	.078
CASES 447						

APPENDIX F

Trade and High School Education or Less: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues

Issues	Communality	Socialization	Utilitarian Educational Skills	Individual Needs	Academic Achievement	Financial Support
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.196	.402	-.059	-.024	-.050	-.167
Lack of proper financial support	.087	-.094	.155	-.024	-.043	.227
Poor Curriculum	.126	-.149	.179	.005	.253	-.087
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.233	.457	.036	-.034	.027	-.144
Raise teachers' salaries	.123	-.023	-.045	.234	-.011	.321
Improve parent/school relations	.169	.080	.090	.382	-.086	-.037
Raise academic standards	.187	.148	.112	.165	.346	.072
More basic skills	.239	-.002	.439	.004	.033	-.212
Meet individual needs	.193	-.117	.242	.322	.130	.023
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.200	.035	.229	.306	.016	.230
Emphasize salable skills	.201	.073	.414	.043	.049	.142
Emphasize moral development	.241	.347	.233	.255	-.022	-.030
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.124	.022	-.057	-.081	.319	.108
Pass basic test/job-college	.060	-.120	-.007	-.073	.004	.200
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.143	-.07	.013	.357	-.030	.057
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.029	.052	-.050	.133	.063	-.046
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.044	-.108	.139	.098	.047	.038
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.339	.097	.024	-.129	.520	-.204
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.011	.052	-.015	.070	-.042	.036
Teachers' lack of attention	.244	-.100	.114	.163	.342	-.279
Society too permissive	.235	.413	.211	-.045	.043	.125
Easier to get into college	.013	.095	-.014	.034	.054	.000
Students not motivated	.100	.198	.394	.072	-.002	-.022
Parents' lack of attention	.182	.258	.122	.286	.036	-.133
CASES 822						

APPENDIX G

Rural: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues.

Issues	Communality	Socialization	Utilitarian Educational Skills	Individual Needs	Academic Achievement	Financial Support
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.165	.375	.113	.056	-.046	-.080
Lack of proper financial support	.081	-.155	.095	.036	.063	.207
Poor Curriculum	.117	-.100	.142	.028	.265	-.129
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.327	.563	.030	-.077	.055	-.026
Raise teachers' salaries	.571	.016	-.058	.090	-.158	.731
Improve parent/school relations	.207	.168	.006	.421	-.042	-.015
Raise academic standards	.214	.177	.216	.091	.317	.165
More basic skills	.164	.057	.360	.014	.177	-.004
Meet individual needs	.213	-.118	.046	.431	.087	.060
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.218	.008	.153	.354	-.084	.249
Emphasize salable skills	.413	-.161	.620	.054	-.013	-.013
Emphasize moral development	.218	.319	.307	.114	-.017	.089
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.054	-.058	.011	-.072	.206	-.058
Pass basic test/job-college	.029	-.159	.006	-.035	-.013	.041
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.220	-.076	.018	.437	-.135	.067
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.024	.084	-.009	.120	-.012	-.046
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.076	-.137	.185	.115	-.053	.083
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.263	.050	.086	-.125	.478	-.097
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.036	.175	-.038	-.009	-.038	.052
Teachers' lack of attention	.224	.022	-.031	.089	.436	.156
Society too permissive	.213	.289	.350	.018	.050	.064
Easier to get into college	.034	.030	.139	-.026	.103	-.047
Students not motivated	.145	.159	.240	.215	.100	.076
Parents' lack of attention	.199	.297	.095	.289	.121	.059
CASES 420						

APPENDIX H

Suburbs: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues

Issues	Commu-nality	Socializ-ation	Individ-ual Needs	Academ-ic Achieve-ments	Utilitari-an Edu-cational Skills	Teach-ers and Disci-pline
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.206	.262	-.096	-.007	-.144	.328
Lack of proper financial support	.209	-.011	.055	.031	.071	-.447
Poor curriculum	.099	-.071	.006	.013	.304	.039
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.347	.493	-.061	.276	-.021	.155
Raise teachers' salaries	.054	-.054	.171	-.142	-.030	-.023
Improve parent/school relations	.115	.097	.317	-.067	.031	-.004
Raise academic standards	.062	.126	.183	.107	.032	.011
More basic skills	.181	.120	.091	.051	.394	.032
Meet individual needs	.216	-.042	.442	.023	.124	-.058
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.230	.017	.418	-.114	.202	-.031
Emphasize salable skills	.169	.093	.040	-.098	.326	-.206
Emphasize moral development	.275	.469	.143	.058	.028	.173
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.262	.036	.072	.455	-.084	-.122
Pass basic test/job-college	.073	-.021	.103	-.207	.138	-.021
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.151	-.001	.319	-.209	.059	.050
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.104	.143	.225	.046	.025	.174
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.060	.006	.009	-.045	.218	-.103
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.404	.129	-.072	.575	.190	.121
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.041	.022	.175	.053	-.066	-.046
Teachers' lack of attention	.330	-.132	.183	.269	.293	.348
Society too permissive	.333	.532	-.147	.019	.122	-.117
Easier to get into college	.038	.139	.057	.031	-.094	-.077
Students not motivated	.127	.219	.122	-.054	.246	-.029
Parents' lack of attention	.009	.299	.095	-.005	.028	.005
CASES 471						

APPENDIX I

Urban: Communalities and Factor Loadings for Twenty-four Issues.

Issues	Communality	Socialization	Individual Needs	Academic Achievement	Poor Curriculum	Financial Support and Student Motivation
Biggest problems in schools:						
Lack of discipline	.214	.390	-.141	.095	-.085	-.160
Lack of proper financial support	.296	-.144	.079	-.065	-.305	.415
Poor Curriculum	.366	-.102	.117	.101	.574	.045
Ways to improve quality of education:						
Enforce stricter discipline	.241	.448	-.074	.112	-.119	-.088
Raise teachers' salaries	.070	-.004	.164	-.039	-.203	.002
Improve parent/school relations	.152	.174	.338	.035	-.077	-.016
Raise academic standards	.170	.141	.073	.285	.234	.099
More basic skills	.153	.156	.035	.033	.103	.298
Meet individual needs	.188	-.076	.355	.010	.177	.156
Opportunity for teacher to improve skills	.301	.061	.529	-.033	.017	.124
Emphasize salable skills	.226	.126	.330	.196	-.070	.241
Emphasize moral development	.269	.446	.252	.059	.034	.051
Pass exam to graduate H.S.	.158	.043	-.152	.303	-.113	-.170
Pass basic test/job-college	.113	-.286	-.035	-.077	-.151	.035
Pay taxes to teach parents to help child	.033	-.069	.154	-.067	-.001	-.006
Give responsibility for moral behavior to school	.064	.122	-.041	.057	.027	-.207
Emphasize careers in H.S.	.069	-.086	.187	.149	.059	-.033
Decline in test scores is decline in quality education	.618	.002	-.410	.642	.062	.182
Responsible for decline:						
TV	.046	.188	.033	-.013	-.092	.035
Teachers' lack of attention	.170	-.008	.027	.375	.165	-.035
Society too permissive	.234	.454	-.099	-.086	.007	.101
Easier to get into college	.048	.078	.062	.191	.010	-.041
Students not motivated	.202	.216	.081	-.013	.102	.381
Parents' lack of attention	.186	.391	.045	.071	.143	.079
CASES 385						

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